

EDITED BY
ROSALIND BROWN-GRANT,
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TEXTUAL AND VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF POWER AND JUSTICE IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE

Manuscripts and Early Printed Books



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TEXTUAL AND VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF POWER
AND JUSTICE IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE

Thoroughly interdisciplinary in approach, this volume examines how concepts such as the exercising of power, the distribution of justice, and transgression against the law were treated in both textual and pictorial terms in works produced and circulated in medieval French manuscripts and early printed books. Analysing texts ranging from romances, political allegories, chivalric biographies, and catalogues of famous men and women, through saints' lives, mystery plays and Books of Hours, to works of Roman, canon and customary law, these studies offer new insights into the diverse ways in which the language and imagery of politics and justice permeated French culture, particularly in the later Middle Ages.

Organized around three closely related themes—the prince as a just ruler, the figure of the judge, and the role of the queen in relation to matters of justice—the issues addressed in these studies, such as what constitutes a just war, what treatment should be meted out to prisoners, what personal qualities are needed for the role of lawgiver, and what limits are placed on women's participation in judicial processes, are ones that are still the subject of debate today. What the contributors show above all is the degree of political engagement on the part of writers and artists responsible for cultural production in this period. With their textual strategies of exemplification, allegorization, and satirical deprecation, and their visual strategies of hierarchical ordering, spatial organization and symbolic allusion, these figures aimed to show that the pen and paintbrush could aspire to being as mighty as the sword wielded by Lady Justice herself.

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Frontispiece The Jouvencel being presented with prisoners. Jean de Bueil,
Le Jouvencel, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192, fol. 175v. Photo BnF.

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Rosalind Brown-Grant,
Anne D. Hedeman, and
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- 11.18 Saint Radegonde and Clotaire. Jean Bouchet, *L'histoire et cronique de Clotaire... et de sa tresillustre espouse madame saincte Radegonde...* (Poitiers: Enguilbert de Marnef, 1518), Paris, BnF, Rés. D 67949 (1). Photo BnF.

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Editorial Principles

In order to facilitate the reader's access to this volume, we would like to take this opportunity to explain here some of our key editorial principles. First, given that the focus of all the studies in this volume is on material from medieval France, which is likely to be of interest to scholars whose first language is not necessarily English, we have included short summaries in French at the start of each chapter. Second, since for reasons of space we have used the author/date system in the bibliography of this volume for both primary and secondary sources, modern critical editions of texts have been cited using the name of the editor and the date of publication: hence "Bouchet 2002" = "Alain Chartier, *Le Quadrilogue invectif*. Translated and annotated by Florence Bouchet. Paris: Champion, 2002." Third, where contributors have cited Old or Middle French texts directly from manuscripts, minimal diacritics and modernized spelling and punctuation have been added in order to aid the reader's comprehension; where critical editions have been used, quotations have been exactly transcribed. Fourth, we have anglicized names of historical figures and fictional characters wherever possible, but have also respected convention where anglicization would actually lead to confusion: hence Louis of Orléans and Louise of Savoy, but Philippe de Mézières and Christine de Pizan. Fifth, for those chapters dealing with a large or complicated corpus of manuscripts where a detailed description of date, authorship, and provenance has been deemed useful, this material has been placed in an appendix immediately following the relevant chapter. Finally, we have used the following abbreviations for referring to manuscripts from three major libraries: BL = British Library (London), BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), and BR = Bibliothèque royale (Brussels).

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Introduction

Rosalind Brown-Grant

Issues such as the fitness of a leader to govern, the link between personal probity and the demands of public office, the proportionality of a punishment to a crime, and the causes that justify military intervention are currently being hotly debated—and with good reason—in these early decades of the twenty-first century by politicians, jurists, academics, journalists, and the general public through multiple forms of media: print, broadcast, internet, and social. Yet, these issues were deemed no less important by the rulers, moralists, historians, and theologians of medieval France who used all the media available to them—manuscripts or printed books, visual artefacts such as a tapestry, an item of clothing, a painting, public events such as a royal entry or the staging of a mystery play—in order to put forward their own opinions on these matters. Indeed, such issues took on a particular urgency in the context of the later Middle Ages when France was hit by a series of crises such as the Hundred Years War with England, the civil war sparked off by the incapacitation of the mad king Charles VI, the oscillation between alliance with and hostility towards France's increasingly powerful neighbor, the duchy of Burgundy, struggles for royal succession, and wars of territorial expansion against various Italian cities.¹ From the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century, intellectuals of very different backgrounds, including Philippe de Mézières, Jean Gerson, Christine de Pizan, Laurent de Premierfait, Alain Chartier, André de la Vigne, Pierre Choinet, Robert Gobin, and Thomas Basin, as well as many figures whose names have not come down to us, responded to what they saw as a deteriorating political situation to try and teach contemporary rulers how to wield power with justice without abusing either royal or judicial authority.²

¹ For a succinct recent account of France's political fortunes in the later Middle Ages, see North 2012, pp. 49–78; and for detailed analytical overviews, see Potter 2003; and Small 2009.

² Key studies of late medieval intellectual life include Verger 1997; and Blanchard and Mühlethaler 2002.

The centrality of the notions of power and justice in medieval political thought can be seen in the law itself—whether civil (Roman), canon, or customary—where divine justice and secular justice were inextricably linked through the figure of the ruler as judge. As Jean-Louis Gazzaniga has put it: “Le juge doit rendre à chacun son dû et faire régner la paix; il affirme ainsi son autorité; derrière le juge se cache le prince; la justice fait le souverain” [The judge must render to everyone their due and enable peace to reign; this is how his authority is affirmed; behind the judge lies the prince: it is justice which makes of him a sovereign].³ Moreover, in the political and moral treatises of the period, such as those produced by John of Salisbury, Giles of Rome, and Brunetto Latini, justice is not only unfailingly presented as one of the four cardinal virtues (along with prudence, fortitude, and temperance) that the good ruler must personally possess if he is to be a successful governor of the body politic, but the upholding of matters of law and justice is also deemed key to his ability to perform his actions in this capacity, for example in the legitimate prosecution of armed conflict.⁴ While legal texts and political treatises from the twelfth century onwards abound in teachings on justice as a prerequisite for good governance, other forms of writing throughout the French Middle Ages likewise sought to have a role in educating those who were destined to take up the reins of power. These works included historical accounts of the remote or recent past such those contained in chronicles or catalogs of famous men and women, works of imaginative literature belonging to the genres of epic, romance, political allegory, and chivalric biography, and texts of a specifically religious nature such as saints’ lives, mystery plays, and Books of Hours.

In all of these works, these textual lessons on good governance would often be accompanied by visual lessons in the form of either miniatures in a manuscript, woodcuts in the early printed book, or *tableaux vivants* in the public staging of a mystery play, even though the actual extent of such illustrations would vary according to the precise genre to which a text belonged. These images were designed to serve a number of different purposes: to reinforce and underline the key points of a text; to clarify and illustrate its arguments; to imprint these examples forcefully on the memory of the reader, listener, or spectator who viewed them; but also to add material of their own which could, as necessary, modify or even critique the textual content of the work. The legal writings of the period are a particular case in point with the work of Gratian on canon law being especially lavishly illustrated,⁵ as are the copies of chronicles, particularly those of Jean Froissart and Enguerrand de Monstrelet, as well as the *Grandes chroniques de France* that were commissioned for noble patrons.⁶ Even in

³ Gazzaniga 1992, p. 255.

⁴ See Krynen 1993; and Rigby 2009.

⁵ Melnikas 1975; Schmitt 1993; Jacob 1994; and L’Engle and Gibbs 2001.

⁶ On chronicles, see Le Guay 1998; and for a wider range of historical works, see Morrison and Hedeman 2010.

genres which tended to receive less visual decoration, such as those in the “mirrors for princes” tradition, there were nonetheless some exceptions, most notably the early manuscripts of Nicole Oresme’s translations for Charles V of Aristotle’s *Ethics* and *Politics* which, being overseen by Oresme himself, matched the text’s explanatory glosses of new political terms such as “democracy” and “oligarchy” with elaborate iconographical cycles that provided a visual complement to its explanatory verbal apparatus.⁷ The production of twinned or multiple copies of texts for different patrons, particularly those on opposite sides in a political conflict, also seems to have provided writers who took a keen interest in the way in which their works were illustrated with an invaluable opportunity to deliver pointed political lessons that were targeted at specific patrons, as in the case of Christine de Pizan’s *Epistre Othéa* for both her Armagnac and Burgundian ducal readers or Pierre Salmon’s *Dialogues* for both Charles VI and his heirs.⁸

While the majority of the recipients of these various forms of writing are likely to have been men, given that the exercising of power was, theoretically at least, reserved for the male sex, female audiences were neither neglected by these texts nor unfamiliar with the kinds of images that they contained. Certain genres like romances and Books of Hours have in fact long been seen by modern scholars as having a particularly faithful female following in this period, with catalogs of famous women also having a certain appeal even if, as in most cases from the fifteenth century, these texts were usually commissioned by men.⁹ These works would have provided women of high social status with textual and visual instruction on how to perform their circumscribed but nonetheless crucial roles in the body politic as providers of heirs, educators of the next generation through their own cultural patronage, and even as potential advisors to their husbands or sons in the brokering of peaceful political and social relations with their subjects.¹⁰ Examples of late medieval French duchesses and queens who are known to have played precisely these roles are Isabel of Portugal, third wife of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and Anne of Brittany, wife of Charles VIII and later Louis XII.¹¹

Yet, if the modern scholarship on the representation of power and justice in medieval literary culture—whether directed principally at men or at women—is abundant in some areas of research, particularly that dealing with works in the “mirrors for princes/princesses” tradition,¹² the same cannot be said of others. This is particularly true of legal texts which, despite

⁷ See Sherman 1995.

⁸ See Hindman 1986a; and Hedeman 2001.

⁹ On romances, see Krueger 1993; and Brown-Grant 2008. On Books of Hours, see Pearson 2005; and Legaré 2007. On biographical catalogs, see McLeod 1991; Brown-Grant 1999, pp. 128–74; and Buettner 1996.

¹⁰ See Parsons 1998; Duggan 2002; and Earenfight 2013.

¹¹ See Willard 1996; and C. Brown 2011.

¹² See Kempshall 1999; Briggs 1999; Bejczy and Nederman 2007; Lachard and Scordia 2007; and Bejczy 2011. On works addressed to women, see Gendt 2003; and Green and Mews 2011.

being the subject of several ground-breaking studies by art historians,¹³ have been comparatively neglected as sources by social, political, and cultural historians.¹⁴ Similarly, despite pioneering works on the representation of legal matters in Old French narratives by twentieth-century literary scholars such as Carl F. Riedel and R. Howard Bloch,¹⁵ it is only in very recent years that close attention has been paid to what the interplay between law and literature can teach us about attitudes to power and justice in the vernacular culture of the Middle Ages. This potentially rich seam of critical enquiry is currently being mined with particular success by scholars in the POLEN (Pouvoirs, Lettres, Normes) research laboratory at the Université d'Orléans, France, who are working on the *Juslittera* project funded by the Agence Nationale pour la Recherche. Comprising legal, political, cultural, and literary historians with expertise in late medieval and early modern studies, the *Juslittera* team has to date produced a large body of innovative work, published mainly in French, on the literary treatment of key aspects of medieval law such as the notions of crime and punishment, the relationship between extenuating circumstances and culpability, the judicial role of kings, and the links between ethics and legal practice.¹⁶

The chapters in this volume, all of which are in English, complement and add to the work of the *Juslittera* group by bringing in an art historical dimension and making their findings more easily accessible to a non-French speaking audience. These chapters have arisen out of a symposium organized in July 2012 by Rosalind Brown-Grant and Bernard Ribémont in Orléans under the auspices of the POLEN research laboratory and Le STUDIUM, Loire Valley, which took as its overarching theme the interaction of text and image in the representation of power and justice in the manuscript and early print culture of the Middle Ages. By bringing together specialists in art history, literary studies, and social and political history based at universities in France, Switzerland, the UK, and the USA, the aim of this volume is to stimulate a dialogue on the ways in which concepts such as the exercising of power, the distribution of justice, and the transgression of the law were inflected in both textual and visual terms across a wide range of works from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. The interdisciplinary focus on the relationship between text and image which all the contributors to the volume have been encouraged to employ, irrespective of their own particular academic specialism, is what gives this collection its distinctive quality. Indeed, this insistence on examining both the textual and visual dimensions of medieval writings is in fact a very timely one for specialists of all stripes working on the Middle Ages. Not only are historians taking an

¹³ See Jacob 1994; and Morel 2007.

¹⁴ Notable exceptions include Gauvard 1991; Fenster and Smail 2003; and Charageat 2011.

¹⁵ Riedel 1938; and Bloch 1978.

¹⁶ See, for example, Ribémont 2008; Ribémont 2012; Menegaldo and Ribémont 2012; and Boudou and Méniel 2012.

increasingly “linguistic/cultural turn” by focusing on “the role of language, and symbolic systems more broadly [speaking],”¹⁷ as can be seen particularly in the approach to sources such as chronicles,¹⁸ but those working on medieval literature, enthused by the “new philological” approach which sees a specific work as actually a discrete entity each time it is produced in a new manuscript or early printed context, are readily turning to study of its accompanying visual decoration among other elements of its paratextual apparatus.¹⁹ Equally, in art history, specialists of illuminated books have for some time now been honing their methodology by employing it in close proximity to specialists in the field of history and literature, with the result, as Richard K. Emmerson notes, that:

Showing how a cycle of miniatures creates a “visual text” that does not simply “reflect”—but is, in multifaceted ways, both related to and distinct from—the verbal text it accompanies is a vital contribution of interdisciplinary approaches to our understanding of medieval manuscript imagery and of the forms and strategies of their visual narratives.²⁰

Moreover, the traditional separation between the manuscript and the early printed book, for so long heralded as a marker of the shift from the medieval to the Renaissance period, has itself come into question in recent years, with the result that continuity rather than rupture between the visual and textual culture of manuscripts and that of incunabula is fast becoming the critical consensus view, thus opening up new and fruitful avenues of enquiry for the ways in which works disseminated via these two different material forms would have interacted with and influenced each other as purveyors of cultural meaning.²¹

This collection covers a wide spectrum of writings from around 1170 to 1520, with a particular focus on those dating from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century, many of which have received scant critical attention hitherto in histories of French literature, these having been dominated until relatively recently by discussion of famous works from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as the romances of Chrétien de Troyes. Offering fresh insights into the degree to which the language and imagery of politics and the law permeated different areas of the literary and visual culture of the Middle Ages, these studies aim to illustrate, *mutatis mutandis*, in the context of medieval France what Anthony Musson has shown to be operative in that of medieval England:

¹⁷ Arnold 2007, p. 125.

¹⁸ See, for example, Hedeman 1991; and Brown-Grant 2011.

¹⁹ See, for instance, Busby 2002; and Fresco and Hedeman 2011.

²⁰ Emmerson 2006, p. 132. See, for example, the collection of papers published in the proceedings of the British Library’s Harley conference of 2010 in the *Electronic British Library Journal* which can be viewed at <http://www.bl.uk/ebj/2011articles/articles.html>.

²¹ See Hindman and Farquhar 1977; Trapp 1983; Hindman 1986b; Hindman 1991; and McKitterick 2003.

The very expression of royal authority and administration in terms of law meant that law became inextricably linked with politics and a key aspect of royal governance. Arguably the law's role went beyond this in that it provided not simply a framework but also a language for politics. Political discourse took many forms in various places, from the "orderly" parliamentary forum, to the preaching and sermonising of the clergy, the domain of satire and polemic in literary works and oral ballads, through to the "disorderly" activities of the rebels in the Peasants' Revolt.²²

What needs taking into account in order to add to Musson's assessment of the pervasiveness of political/legal discourse in this period is, of course, the visual dimension of medieval writings, hence the focus throughout this collection on examining how the codes of both textual and pictorial language could be complementarily deployed to inflect or to critique prevailing ideas on power and justice.

The studies in this volume are thus organized around three closely related themes: the prince as a just ruler, the figure of the judge, and the role of the queen in relation to matters of justice. The first of these themes, with which roughly half the chapters presented here are concerned, is found principally in advice literature addressed to the noble male reader, ranging from catalogs of famous men and women, romance narratives, and chivalric biography to myriad forms of political allegory. Within this group of texts, two main expository methods can be identified. Many authors chose to make their lessons palatable to the prince by using examples of figures from the historical past or fictional heroes—whose appearance, manner, and speech are all presented as bearing a close resemblance to those of the contemporary nobility—in order to illustrate the general principles by which the just ruler was expected and encouraged to govern. Others, however, preferred to address themselves to their princely readers through the veil of allegory, often building on the commonplace organic metaphor of the ruler as the head of the body politic who existed in a state of interdependence with, but also dominance over, the other limbs or members. Such metaphors were frequently coupled with personifications or animal analogies which could be exploited for the positive or negative connotations that were attached to the attributes of gender and bestiality in medieval thought.

Anne D. Hedeman's chapter, which opens this group of chapters on the prince as a just ruler, uses Laurent de Premierfait's *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, a Middle French translation of Giovanni Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*, as a window into attitudes towards power and justice as expressed visually in the twinned ducal copies made around 1410–11 for Duke John of Berry and Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy: Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Mss. fr. 190/1 and 190/2, and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5193. These densely illustrated manuscripts, which were created at the same time and almost certainly under Laurent's direction, contain several unique pairs of pictures, visual amplifications which focus attention on the portions

²² Musson 2001, p. 217.

of Boccaccio's text that the French writer expanded in his translation. Several concentrate on examples of governmental change in times of stress, usually in response to the overweening ambition of tyrants such as Alcibiades and the Roman king Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, father of the infamous Sextus Tarquinius who raped Lucretia. Revisiting these images by considering them in relation to their owners, the two powerful princes who were political opponents at the time when these manuscripts were made, Hedeman reads them against both the narrative of the antique past that they illustrate and that of the French fifteenth-century present in which they were experienced. She thus shows how opponents in the bloody French civil war appropriated images of power in order to further their own political agendas through, for example, the incorporation into the miniatures of heraldic motifs that identify their antagonist with notorious figures from classical antiquity and thus legitimate his subsequent punishment in the minds of the contemporary audiences of these works.

The importance of teaching the prince how to become a just ruler and so avoid being commemorated as a vicious tyrant is explored further in Rosalind Brown-Grant's study of the *Roman de Florimont*, a mid-fifteenth-century Burgundian prose reworking of Aimon de Varennes's twelfth-century verse text which recounts the life of the putative grandfather of Alexander the Great. Focusing on the sole known copy of this prose version, as preserved in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, which was commissioned by the chronicler and bibliophile Jean de Wavrin and lavishly illustrated by the Lille-based artist known as the "Wavrin Master," Brown-Grant reveals how this redaction of the romance differs from Aimon's original in downplaying the themes of love and *largesse* in favor of offering lessons in political leadership to its noble readers at the court of Valois Burgundy. Through the interplay of text and image in this manuscript, the romance narrative constructs itself as a veritable "mirror for princes," one which highlights the exemplary conduct of the eponymous hero who is presented as a fictional forerunner of the Burgundian dukes themselves. Demonstrating justice in action, Florimont's deeds reveal him undertaking just wars against tyrants and oppressors, granting mercy to his defeated enemies, using *largesse* as an instrument of justice to his friends and allies, and establishing a lasting peace in the realm that ensures its future prosperity. As Brown-Grant argues, these textual lessons on how to distinguish good rulers from bad are underscored in the miniatures of this manuscript through the use of contrasting visual devices such as chromatic harmony versus disharmony, compositional symmetry versus dissymmetry, sober versus elaborate costume, and restrained versus immoderate body language.

The specific challenges in matters of justice faced by the prince in his role as military leader are examined by Michelle Szkilnik in her analysis of *Le Jouvencel* by Jean de Bueil. This late fifteenth-century text, which is at once a chivalric biography and a manual of warfare, describes the social ascent of a young nobleman who, thanks to his bravery in different wars, becomes

lieutenant of the king and, later, regent of the imaginary realm of Amidoine. Analysing a range of illustrated manuscripts of this text which date from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century, Szkilnik demonstrates that these representations of the man of war who takes on the role of lawgiver and bringer of justice evolve over time, as the various illustrations of the text reveal him making the shift from being a lowly soldier on a battlefield receiving orders from his sovereign to becoming a *grand seigneur* [great lord] in his own right, one who comes to occupy an ever more prominent and visually dominant place in the miniatures. Eschewing abstract teachings on justice for a series of concrete case studies, the combination of text and image in these miniatures shows the Jouvencel deciding on issues such as whether or not one has the right to torture captives, how to divide up booty amongst one's allies, and when to show clemency or severity towards prisoners, his performance of his juridical duties thereby offering an authoritative textual and visual example to the princely reader/viewer.

If these three narrative works all use direct examples, whether historical or fictional, as a means of conveying their political messages about the wielding of power and the exercising of justice, those discussed by the authors of the next three chapters in the volume proceed by the more indirect means of allegory, with all its potential for delivering veiled yet trenchant critiques of those regarded as defective in their roles as members of the body politic. In her study of Philippe de Mézières's *Songe du vieil pelerin*, an allegorical dream vision that was dedicated to Charles VI of France in 1389, shortly after his assumption of personal rule at the age of 20, Kristin Bourassa outlines how the author uses the female personification of Queen Truth as a highly rational and discerning judge in order to offer the beleaguered king an outstanding model of rulership and royal justice. Adopting a complex rhetorical framework, the text uses further levels of metaphor (tablets of commandments, the chariot of state, the chess board) to instruct Charles VI on the government of both the self and others, the need for judicial reform, and the scope of royal authority. Bourassa then goes on to argue that in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542, a manuscript of the work produced after the death of the author and its original intended kingly reader, which has both a unique preface and an elaborate set of miniatures, the *Songe du vieil pelerin* is textually and visually reconfigured for a new, non-royal audience. Broadening out the original relationship of Queen Truth and Charles VI as teacher and pupil through the visual inclusion of members of other social groups, the *Songe* in this new manuscript version engages with political issues that were now current during the reign of Charles VII, such as the changes made to the constitution, the extension of the role of the Parlement, and the promotion of French privilege as a Most Christian nation, and reorientates its elaborate allegories so as to offer broader moral prescriptions to all good Christians of the realm rather than just the king himself.

If a female personification such as Queen Truth could thus be presented as a positive figure by Philippe de Mézières, the less favorable connotations

that could be attached to the feminine gender in medieval thought, such as emotional instability and irrationality, could also be fully exploited in political allegory, as Cynthia J. Brown shows in her chapter on the works of three late medieval writers who enjoyed the patronage of the royal court. Intended as literary contributions to the bolstering of male royal power against refractory sections of the French body politic, Alain Chartier's *Quadrilogue invectif* (1422), André de la Vigne's *Ressource de la Chrestienté* (1494) and Jean Marot's *Voyage de Gênes* (ca. 1507) respectively address the tensions surrounding the political ambitions of kings Charles VII, Charles VIII, and Louis XII. Each of these texts stages a debate, or pseudo-trial, during which personified estates such as the people, the clergy, the nobility, and the merchants, defend their conflicting political viewpoints before their leader who is personified as female—France, “Magesté Royale,” and Genoa respectively—whose weakened and despairing state in each case leads her to call on the authority of the king to restore her fortunes. For Brown, the visual treatment of the individual plaintiffs in the elaborate miniatures that accompany each textual transcription in manuscripts Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5091, and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24441, makes elaborate play of the possibilities of gender-bending, representing the feminine noun “La Chevalerie” as the masculine figure of a “chevalier,” for example, or assimilating the attributes of the rational “Dame Raison” to the masculine authority of the king himself by means of heraldic motifs and acrostics of his name in the borders of the illuminated page.

In striking contrast to both the benevolent, teacherly attitude adopted by a Philippe de Mézières towards the princely reader of his *Songe du vieil pelerin*, and the propagandistic defense of royal power conducted by an Alain Chartier, André de la Vigne, or a Jean Marot, other writers in late medieval France did not hesitate to employ the resources of allegory, particularly that featuring animals, in order to conduct coded attacks on those rulers whom they judged to be failing in their duty to exercise power with justice for the good of all. As Lydwine Scordia argues in her chapter on the pastoral metaphor, which draws on biblical and ancient models in order to allegorize the shepherd, sheepdog, sheep, and wolf as actors of the state, this trope was used in the late fifteenth century as one of the most effective means of treating, defining, idealizing, or criticizing the powers that be, most notably during the reign of Louis XI (1461–83). For Scordia, in the hands of Louis's contemporaries such as Jean de Roze, Pierre Choinet, Thomas Basin, Georges Chastellain, and Jean Molinet, this highly productive animal metaphor which lent itself readily to vivid pictorial interpretation—co-existing alongside others even more disparaging such as that of the monarch as a loathsome spider or a destructive whale—compared King Louis to the ideal of the just ruler and found him sorely wanting. In his excessive taxation of his subjects, his circumvention of the normal legal procedures of the Parlements, and his vacillation in delivering a timely punishment on those found guilty of sedition, the king as judged through these metaphors was shown not only

to have failed in his duty to protect the common people, but actually to have become the state's own wolf-like enemy within.

The second theme addressed in this collection concerns less the actual virtues expected of the prince as a good ruler and more the office and authority of the judge himself, whether in the literal application of temporal laws or in the figurative operations of divine justice. Drawing on a wide variety of sources, including both normative texts of medieval law and works such as saints' lives which have rarely before been examined from this perspective, the first two chapters in this section seek to determine the extent to which the conventional iconographical representation of the figure of the judge found in legal texts is modified according to the visual codes and rhetorical strategies employed in different literary contexts in which punishment for transgression of the law is being discussed.

As Barbara Denis-Morel observes, medieval society placed an extremely high premium on the integrity of the judge and his ability to perform his duties with the necessary dignity, probity, and impartiality, as can be seen in the views of jurists such Philippe de Beaumanoir and intellectuals such as Eustache Deschamps and Jean Juvenal des Ursins who all stress the importance of the king's appointing good judges—ones answerable both to their sovereign and to their Maker, God himself—in order to maintain the peace and stability of the realm. Legal texts, especially those of Roman law belonging to the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and those of customary law such as the *Coutumiers* of Artois and Burgundy, present an even more idealized visual image of the judge, one which frequently borrows from the iconographical codes of rulership, in order to show him as a supremely authoritative and unbending figure who is placed at a significant remove from the actual physical carrying-out of sentencing in criminal cases. By contrast, as Denis-Morel goes on to argue, in historical texts such as the *Grandes chroniques de France* which are chiefly concerned with recounting the history of the French monarchy, it is the king himself who is shown playing the part of the judge rather than delegating this responsibility to his appointed representatives. These chronicle manuscripts thus feature plentiful images of rulers actively passing sentences that call for the most severe forms of physical punishment, in a manner often very different from the “regal,” stately figure of the judge found in the legal texts of Roman or customary law. In the miniatures of these historical texts, justice as exercised by the king thus serves as an important way of demonstrating royal power, whereas in legal texts it is the power invested in the judge by both the ruler and God himself which is presented as ensuring that true justice is done.

In their chapter on the depiction of the judge in the manuscripts of hagiographical accounts as contained in the *Légende dorée*, *Speculum historiale*, and royal breviaries, Maité Billoré and Esther Dehoux reveal the far greater levels of violence seen in the trials and persecutions of Christian martyrs, male and female alike, where decapitations, flayings, and hangings abound, than was found in the normative legal writings of the period. Yet, as Billoré

and Dehoux also show, even though the judge in these hagiographical texts is most usually a pagan emperor, many of these works betray a distinct unease at showing figures of secular, royal authority in too negative a light, thus shifting onto the image of the actual executioner delivering the physical punishment of the martyr the distorted features, obscene dress, and contorted body language that bespeak their excessive cruelty and almost bestial state. Indeed, at times, these tales of supreme suffering for one's faith turn the figure of the pagan persecutor, who is iconographically represented in all his legitimacy as an impartial dispenser of justice, into the unwitting instrument of God himself, who is thereby shown as the only true judge of when the martyr's suffering can be truly and gloriously brought to an end.

The notion of the superiority of divine justice over the vagaries of human justice and how the imagery of the one can be used to critique the other is explored in the third chapter in this section, Mary Beth Winn's analysis of Robert Gobin's moral treatise, the *Loups ravissans*. First published by Anthoine Vérard around 1506 and decorated with elaborate woodcuts, this text is an allegorical satire of Church and State that features a villainous Archwolf who instructs his audience of young wolves in the abuse of justice and power, illustrating his lessons with a series of evil figures from the past who were condemned for their use of fraud and deception. Culminating in a mass trial and condemnation of the Archwolf's acolytes for all their wicked deeds, the text and woodcuts of Vérard's edition introduce a radically new interpretation of the theme of the Dance of Death in which the figure of Death, aided by his helper Accident, acts as an implacable judge rather than just as a leader of a dance who spares neither the rich nor the exalted from their fate. As Winn goes on to argue, these woodcuts proved so popular as a reimagining of this most traditional of scenes that they had a second existence in printed Books of Hours where, employed as images of the Last Judgment, they remind us that transgressions of human and temporal laws are ultimately subject to divine and eternal sanction, lessons intended to be heeded by all members, high and low, of the body politic.

The chapters devoted to the first two themes of this volume, the prince as just ruler and the figure of the judge, focus on works aimed principally at a male readership, which should not surprise us given the almost total exclusion of medieval women from these positions of royal and judicial power. Yet the presence that we have already noted above of female figures such as Lucretia in catalogs of famous men and women, where her story serves as a political lesson on the dangers of tyranny, and the recourse to female personifications in allegorical writings on good and bad government such as those of Philippe de Mézières or André de la Vigne, where the positive connotations of women's traditional link to mercy and the pursuit of peace could be invoked, should be sufficient reminders that women in medieval France were by no means unaffected by judicial processes and the part that these processes played in upholding the structures of power. The third and final theme engaged with in this volume is therefore dedicated to analysing how books intended for either

the entertainment or the instruction of noblewomen of the highest social rank treated their dealings with the law and outlined the potential, if limited, place that could be reserved for them in the exercising of justice.

In the first of the two chapters in this section, Yasmina Foehr-Janssens examines the dynamics of women's relationship to the law in the depiction of trial scenes in Old French romance narratives such as the *Roman de Tristan*, *Lanval* and the prose *Lancelot*, in which a queen stands accused of adultery or herself brings an accusation of adultery against either a female rival or a man on whom she seeks revenge. Discussing both the textual representations of these scenes and their visual counterparts in the manuscripts preserving these narratives, Foehr-Janssens shows how the figure of the queen, when acting as the accused, is always judged by those presiding over the judicial proceedings in terms of her physical appearance rather than any form of verbal defense, her aim being to excite those present to show her mercy as an unwitting, silent victim of the machinations of her accusers—even in those cases where she is in fact guilty as charged. When acting as an accuser, it is still the queen's physical appearance that serves as the "proof" of whether or not her cause is good rather than any verbal arguments that she can muster, since her actual case has to be brought on her behalf by the king, her husband, his power to do so residing in his possession and display of this beautiful object to the members of his court. As Foehr-Janssens shows, although these romance narratives unmistakably adopt the language and imagery of the legal practices of the period, their actual engagement with questions of law and justice within the parallel world of the literary work leads them to offer some unexpected answers to questions such as how to establish culpability, what constitutes a proof and, ultimately, who determines the fitness of those allowed to judge in the first place, when the plaintiff or defendant at issue is a high-born woman.

If fictional queens could serve the writers of Old French narratives as a way of exploring the intricacies of a legal system in which women are shown having to circumvent the proscription on their right to speak by manipulating their potentially duplicitous appearance, to what extent could real, historical queens be presented as having an actual part to play in the operations of justice? This question is tackled by Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier in her study of how Queen Claude of France, wife of Francis I, was caught in the middle of a struggle for sovereignty between her parents, Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, and her own husband and his mother, Louise of Savoy, a struggle which crystallized around the issue of how much political power, if any, she could claim for herself as queen. Through an assessment of evidence from tomb sculpture, manuscript illuminations (with particular attention being paid to Claude's Primer), royal entries, writings by Pierre Gringore and Jean Bouchet, and the interaction of all these multiple forms of communication with mystery plays, Wilson-Chevalier examines how the approaches to power and justice of two vying dynasties took shape and clashed. Through analysis of figures of female empowerment that were promoted in these various works by the

different sides in the political conflict over sovereignty—principally that of Justice, as one of the cardinal virtues, or as a protagonist of the Parliament of Heaven, with Mercy by her side—Wilson-Chevalier sheds new light on Queen Claude's largely overlooked attempts to promote a political state in which mercy and justice could flourish, in line with the proactive role many a French subject was counting on her to assume.

The chapters offered in this volume on power and justice in French culture of the Middle Ages therefore raise issues that continue to excite the modern imagination and stimulate fierce debate today, when discussion of what constitutes a just war, what sanctions should be placed on a head of state who turns against his own subjects, what constitutes an equitable level of taxation, what gender-specific qualities—if any—a woman can bring to political office, or who has the right to judge those who sit in judgment over others, are questions that affect many millions of people around the world. Given that, in medieval France, power was concentrated in the hands of a far smaller number of people, principally the male monarch, in his dual capacity as both ruler and judge, this role being deemed to have been ordained by God Himself as the ultimate arbiter of human actions, it is not surprising that so much attention should have been devoted by intellectuals in this period to determining and critiquing the monarch's fitness to govern, in terms of his own personal ethics and internalization of the demands of his public role. What the studies in this collection have sought above all to show is how we can obtain a deeper understanding of the ways in which the structures of power and the mechanisms of medieval justice as wielded by the figure of the king—with his own wife acting as a potential helper in his attempts to bring peace and social stability to the realm—were symbolically conceived and disseminated by the writers and artists of France, particularly those active in the most acute phases of its crisis in the later centuries of the Middle Ages. It is perhaps not too strong a claim to say that those responsible for cultural production in this period should indeed be seen as politically engaged, since the textual strategies which they deployed on the written page such as exemplification, allegorization, and satirical deprecation, coupled with the visual strategies which they employed in the painted or printed image, such as hierarchical ordering, spatial configuration, or symbolic allusion, show how the pen, paintbrush, and printing press could aspire to being as mighty as the sword held aloft by Lady Justice herself ...

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Translating Power for the Princes of the Blood: Laurent de Premierfait's *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*

Anne D. Hedeman

Résumé français: *Le Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes de Boccace, traduit par Laurent de Premierfait, offre un aperçu des attitudes à l'endroit du pouvoir et de la justice qu'expriment visuellement les enluminures des manuscrits jumeaux fabriqués vers 1410–1411 pour Jean, duc de Berry, et Jean sans Peur, duc de Bourgogne, qui, à cette date, sont en conflit. Réalisés simultanément sous la direction de Laurent, les manuscrits ducaux sont richement enluminés. Ils contiennent des enluminures accouplées qui sont uniques et qui mettent en avant des portions du texte de Boccace que Laurent a développées dans sa traduction. Certaines de ces enluminures rappellent des changements de gouvernement dans les moments de tension, en réponse aux ambitions des tyrans. L'analyse de ces enluminures à la lumière du récit du passé antique qu'elles illustrent et du contexte de leur réalisation montre comment les images de pouvoir étaient récupérées par les adversaires des deux camps pendant la guerre civile française.*

The *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, Laurent de Premierfait's translation ca. 1409 of Giovanni Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* (1358), offers a rare window into attitudes towards power in early fifteenth-century Paris, particularly in the densely illuminated copies of the second version. Laurent had first translated Boccaccio in 1400 for Jean de Chanteprime, but revised and amplified it in a second version completed in 1409.¹ Boccaccio's *De casibus* described Fortune's effects on famous men and women from Adam and Eve to King John the Good of France. Because the stories it contains are classic tales from biblical, ancient, and medieval history, manuscripts containing the

¹ For an edition and discussion of the first translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus*, which survives in seven manuscripts, see Marzano 2008. For a partial edition of Laurent's revision and amplification of this text which was presented to Duke John of Berry (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Mss. fr. 190/1 and 190/2) in 1410 and which survives in 72 manuscript copies, see Gathercole 1968 and, for discussion of the illuminated copies, see Branca 1999.

Des cas present an opportunity to examine the role that visualized tales of the past played in reinforcing fifteenth-century French viewers' concerns about power and justice in their present. I will consider how these concerns were expressed visually in the "twinning" copies made around 1410–11 for Duke John of Berry and Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Mss. fr. 190/1 and 190/2 and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5193) by examining the resonances between visual representation of the past and political polemic from the civil conflicts that broke out in France just as these books were being made.

These two manuscripts were created simultaneously and almost certainly under Laurent de Premierfait's direction, as I have suggested elsewhere.² They are densely illustrated with 147 and 150 miniatures respectively, all but one of which are a single column wide, and they were painted in at least three artistic styles. As Millard Meiss first observed, the images done in Bibliothèque de Genève, Mss. fr. 190/1 and 190/2 by the Luçon illuminators and in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5193 by the *Cité des Dames* illuminators share many iconographical features. In contrast, the handful of illuminations painted in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5193 by Adelphi, Bedford, and Boucicaut illuminators are different, suggesting that the *Cité des Dames* and Luçon illuminators had access to each other's work or worked in close association on the production of these manuscripts. Apparently certain folios were farmed out to artists at a different location for completion.³

Images were an essential component of French translations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Laurent de Premierfait learned how to exploit them in order to reach the noble audience for whom he worked. Laurent had been celebrated in Avignon in the late Middle Ages as a Latin poet and, once he moved to Paris ca. 1398, was in demand as a translator of Cicero, Aristotle, and Boccaccio. Scholars have worked on his translations, but his interactions with book producers in Paris, which are just coming to light, are less well known.⁴ His collaboration with members of the book trade is of particular interest, however, because through it he became more and more skilled in using sophisticated visual rhetoric to visually translate texts originating in a culture removed in time or geography for fifteenth-century French readers. One of the most notable visual rhetorical practices employed in Laurent's illuminated translations was amplification, which he outlined in the prologue to his second translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus* in 1409:

[I]l convient se me samble que les livres latin en leur translation soient muez et convertiz en tel langage que les liseurs et escouteurs d'iceulx puissent comprendre l'effect de la sentence sanz trop grant ou trop long traveil d'entendement ... Et par

² See Hedeman 2008.

³ Meiss 1974, pp. 283–7; and Avril et al. 1996, pp. 309 and 324.

⁴ See Delsaux 2014.

ainsi ce livre moult estroit et brief en paroles est entre tous aultres livres le plus ample et le plus long a le droit expliquer par sentences ramenables aux histoires.

En faisant doncques ceste besoingne longue et espendue et recueillie de divers historians, par le moyen de la grace divine, je vueil principalement moy ficher en deux choses, c'est assavoir mettre en cler langaige les sentences du livre et les histoires qui par l'auteur sont si brièvement touchees que il n'en met fors seulement les noms. Je les assommerai selon la verité des vieils historians qui au long les escrivirent.⁵

[It is necessary, it seems to me, that Latin books should be changed and converted in their translation into such language that their readers and listeners can understand the effect of the sentence without enormous or long efforts of understanding ... and thus this book, which is very concise and brief in words, is the most ample and long among all other books so as to explain correctly through sentences that restore stories.

Thus in making this long and diffuse work gathered from diverse historians by means of divine grace, I want principally to accomplish two things: that is to say to put into clear language the sentences of the book and the stories that the author touches on so briefly that he scarcely puts anything but the names. I will summarize them according to the truth of old historians who wrote about them at length.]⁶

Laurent claims that he will do this with minimal deviation from Boccaccio's original text:

Et si ne vueil pas dire que Jehan Boccace acteur de ce livre, qui en son temps fut tresgrant et renommé historian, ait delessié les dictes histoires par ignorance de les non avoir sceues ou par orgueil de les non deigner escrire, mais car il les avoit si promptes a la main et si fichees en memoire il les reputa communes et cogneues aux aultres comme a soy. Afin doncques que le livre ait toutes ses parties et soit complet en soy, je les mettrai brièvement senz delessier que trespou le texte de l'auteur.

[This is not to say that Jean Boccaccio, author of this book, who in his time was a very great and famous historian, abandoned the said histories because of ignorance, not knowing them, or because of pride that he did not deign to write them, because he had them so promptly in hand and so firmly in memory, he assumed they were as common and well-known to others as to himself. Thus in order that the book have all its parts and be complete in itself, I will put them down briefly without deviating much from the text of the author.]⁷

As this part of his prologue explains, in order to make Boccaccio understandable to his French audience Laurent decided to amplify, while remaining faithful to Boccaccio's meaning.

Laurent's textual amplification offers insight into the visual amplifications (see the Appendix) that appear in the densely illuminated manuscripts of the *Des cas* that he supervised for John of Berry and John the Fearless. The dukes'

⁵ Gathercole 1968, pp. 89–90, corrected after Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 190/1, fols. 6r–6v.

⁶ All translations of Middle French texts are my own, unless otherwise stated.

⁷ Gathercole 1968, p. 90, corrected after Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 190/1, fol. 6v.

manuscripts share seven unique paired pictures, visual amplifications that stretch a story through pictures to create a pause that draws special attention to portions of Boccaccio's text. John the Fearless's manuscript contains three additional unique visual amplifications, and both manuscripts share an additional eight that are not unique, but only appear in a limited number of contemporary illuminated manuscripts of the *Des cas*. Several of these visual amplifications are of interest for the study of power and justice, because of their contemporary fifteenth-century resonances. They offer examples of justice in cases where there is governmental change, usually in response to the overweening ambition of tyrants.

I would like to consider three of these important visual amplifications and analyse them in relation to John of Berry and John the Fearless, the owners of the two earliest manuscripts in which they appear. These men were powerful princes of the blood who were opponents in the political strife surrounding the mad king, Charles VI, at the time these manuscripts were made. Reading the images against both the narrative of the antique past that they illustrate and the history and visual culture of the fifteenth-century present in which the dukes lived, suggests how opponents in the French civil conflict may have interpreted past images of power and politics as statements about their present.

The second decade of the fifteenth century when these books were made was a time of growing conflict amongst the princes of the blood.⁸ Charles VI's madness first began to show in the late fourteenth century; by the early fifteenth century a system of governing councils was devised to ensure that the government ran smoothly whether the king were incapacitated or not. The structure of the councils varied, but usually included the queen, the princes of the blood, and one in a series of underage dauphins. By the early fifteenth century, two opposing factions had formed. One coalesced around Duke Louis of Orléans, the brother of King Charles VI and John of Berry, the king's uncle, among others. John the Fearless, the king's cousin, who became duke of Burgundy in 1404, headed the opposing Burgundian faction. The relationship between the cousins Louis of Orléans and John the Fearless deteriorated, and was so toxic by 1407 that the Burgundian duke arranged Louis's assassination. In 1408, an official justification of John the Fearless's actions was written by Jean Petit, read aloud at court, and circulated in parchment and paper versions.⁹ The Orléans family rebutted it publicly in both 1408 and 1411.¹⁰ Relations went from bad to worse, attempts at negotiation failed, and the League of Gien in April 1410 effectively created an Armagnac party opposed to the Burgundian party, thus marking the beginning of the civil war.

⁸ Famiglietti 1986; and Autrand 1986.

⁹ For the text of Jean Petit's *Justification*, see Douët-D'Arcq 1857–61, vol. 1, pp. 178–242.

¹⁰ For Orléans' rebuttals, see Douët-D'Arcq 1857–61, vol. 1, pp. 268–336; vol. 2, pp. 116–21, 124–49.

The Destruction of Jerusalem and the French Civil War

The most striking double image visual amplification in the dukes' manuscripts (Figures 1.1–1.2) relates to the civil war. Shared by four contemporary manuscripts of the *Des cas* during its brief period of popularity in 1410–15, its scale and horrific subject matter signal its importance.¹¹ The first image in this amplification shows the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman Emperor Titus in a two-column-wide illumination, and the second image shows a Jewish noblewoman named Marie devouring her baby because she was starving in a more typical single-column illumination. When her fellow Jews discovered Marie's actions, they lost heart and Jerusalem capitulated.

The first miniature in particular draws on the language of costume to cast the Jews in a sympathetic light. Whether illustrated by the Luçon Master in John of Berry's manuscript or by the Master of the *Cité des Dames* in that of John the Fearless, turbans tied around the heads of some of the Romans and curved swords or scimitars equate them with the "Saracens" who buy the Jewish survivors, while the Jewish survivors who leave the city or are sold into captivity wear simple *cottes* if they are women and chemises or belted short robes if they are men. It is thus the Jews who are dressed like contemporary fifteenth-century French people.

When the dukes received their books and first looked through them, these images would undoubtedly have attracted their attention. The two-column-wide unusual miniature served as an "interior frontispiece" and its placement deep within the book functioned to train John of Berry and John the Fearless both to read the text of Laurent's translation by dipping into different sections of the manuscript and to view the illuminated texts in the books through a contemporary lens.

These images resonate with fifteenth-century polemic that associated the contemporary French with the first-century Jews who lost Jerusalem. For instance, around 1420, the historian Robert Blondel compared the Parisian violence when the Burgundians stormed Paris in 1418 and massacred their opponents to the violence in Jerusalem before its fall in a *complainte* that cited these two painted events: Marie's cannibalism and the sale of the Jews into slavery.¹² The general association that he made between Old Testament Jews and fifteenth-century French people was already politically powerful when Laurent produced these manuscripts about ten years earlier. For instance, a letter written to Charles VI by the notary-secretary Pierre Salmon around

¹¹ The large scale of this amplification occurs only in the manuscripts of the *Des cas* belonging to John of Berry and John the Fearless, my focus here, in the manuscript in Vienna painted by Master of the *Cité des Dames* illuminators (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. S.n. 12766) with unknown patronage, and in that painted by Boucicaut Master illuminators and an unknown artist (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 63) belonging to Girard Blanchet, a member of the administrative class who rose to be *maître des requêtes* [a royal officer charged with the receipt of petitions to the king] under Charles VII. For fuller discussion, see Hedeman 2008, pp. 116–27 and 193–9.

¹² Inglis 1998, p. 349; and Hedeman 2008, pp. 125–6.



1.1 The destruction of Jerusalem in which Titus receives tribute money and Jews are sold into captivity. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, trans. Laurent de Premierfait, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. 190/2, fol. 96v. Photo Bibliothèque de Genève.



Mistre courroux de dieu qui
sans toy couuoir ne trou
bler as este courroux con
tre les iuis. O miste vengeance de dieu
qui as puni les iuis plus doulcement
que ils n'auoient deservu. Certain est
que les iuis conspircuerent enuieus
ypocrites et rebelles qui par barat pun
dient par nuire en ung iardin ihesu
crist dieu et homme qui apres la sai
cte cene estoit auec les disciples en
oraison. mais ces mesmes iuis fu
rent punis par violence de bataille a
plein iour dedans leur cite tous en
sambie apres grant et longue disete
de manger et de boire; les iuis q'on
iardin loierent le bon ihesus q'estoit
venu au monde pour donner aux
hommes vraie sauuesse. Ces mes
mes iuis furent loiez et subgetz par
les cheualiers rommains et venduz
en seruaige; les iuis qui le vendre
dy apres la cene demenderent plus
tost la deliurance de barabas home
dissensionneur et larron que de ihesus
home paisible et treuiste. Ces mesmes

iuis ont este destruits et perilliez p
les dissensions qui en ihesu aduie
dient entre les iuis et les auliers
voisins: les iuis qui auoient eschar
m et mesque ihesus leur droit et natif
roy et qui lauoient reue et cōdemp
ne deuant le preuost pylate. Ces
mesmes iuis ont souffert vilenies
et enuies par les roys estrangers et
aussi par les tyrans; les iuis qui
en apert sur le mont de caluaire iet
pendurent le sang de ihesus home ui
ste. Ces mesmes iuis sentaient le
sang de leur propre corps estre espi
sie en cadettes et dedans leurs mar
sons par les espies des iuristes de
loist des rommains et d'aultres leus
enueus. les iuis qui cōmencerent
a pylate que ihesus homme innocent
fust fachie; en la cite et entre deus
larrons. Ces mesmes iuis vndiret
a pouuerre par plusieurs lanctins co
nnus et faits comme dit est par les
larrons de iudee et par les pillars de
loist rommain; les iuis qui sefforce
rent de eulenter et restreindre la pui
sance d'none de ihesu crist en deus et en
seur ou monumant et qui iustrent
cheualiers a la garde et grosses rich
a l'enure. Ces mesmes iuis a force
de gens armies par disete de vitail
les furent si restreints dedans leur pa
ys que pour soustenir leur vie ilz
ont hape et punis les puenies cha
rignies dedans les sepulchres des moies
Ques iuis qui traperent et bannirent
ihesus le filz de la vierge maue errant
te de royale lignee; ces mesmes iuis
ont veu ou deuenir iour de destruire
mant de leur cite vne aulre noble

1410, which was transcribed in his *Dialogues* and illustrated ca. 1413 (Figure 1.3), described the discord that struck the royal house in an address to both Charles VI and the princes of the blood.¹³ Salmon lamented Jerusalem's fall in the words of the prophet Jeremiah and then glossed it with reference to the civil war that pitted the Armagnacs (which included John of Berry among their members) against the Burgundians (which included John the Fearless). Salmon explained to the king:

[S]elon le sens de la lettre ainsy comme le dessus dit Jeremie le prophete plouroit et lamentoit moult piteusement et tendrement de tout son cuer comme dit est la destruction de la cité de Jherusalem et desolation du royaume d'Ysrael, moult grant pitié seroit aussy à oyr parler de la piteuse declinacion ... de votre dicte maison royal de votre noble cité de Paris et en conclusion de votre royaume.

[According to the sense of the letter, as Jeremiah the prophet cried and lamented most piteously and tenderly with his whole heart ... the destruction of the city of Jerusalem and the desolation of the realm of Israel, there will also be great sadness to hear about the piteous decline ... of your royal house, of your noble city of Paris and, in conclusion, of your realm.]¹⁴

His letter ended with a direct appeal to the princes of the blood:

[P]remierement avoir pitié et compassion de la noble maison et hostel royal dont vous estes partis et issus afin que par vous ne soit pas dissipée et desolée la gloire d'icelle mais la soustenir et garder comme le propre chief dont vous estes tous ensamble le mesme et seul corps.

[First have pity and compassion on the noble and royal house of which you are a part so that its glory will not be dissipated and desolated by you but sustained and guarded as the head of which you are all together the same and only body.]¹⁵

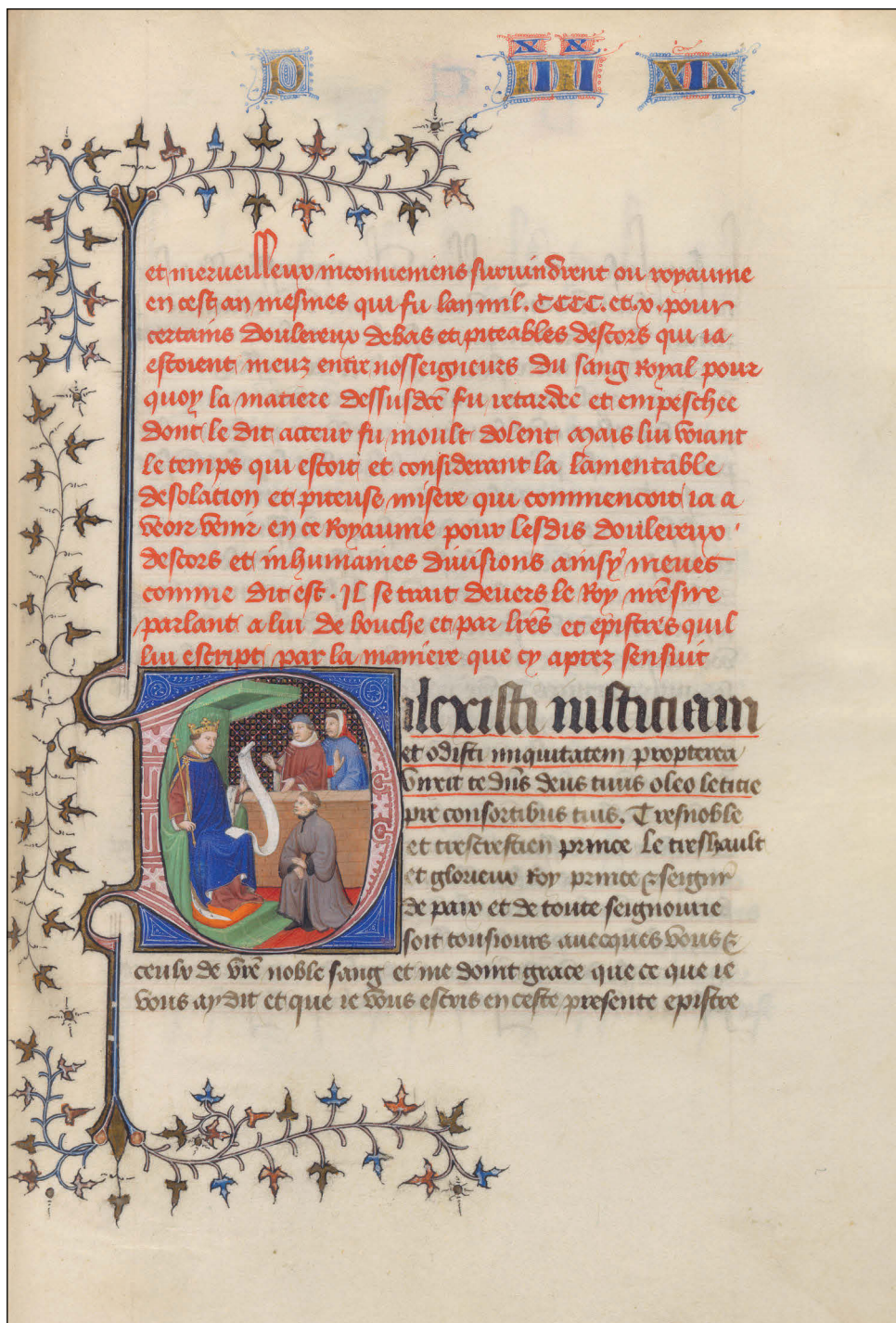
This interpenetration of royal and princely audiences in Pierre Salmon's letter exploits the courtly "corporate" communication that was a common practice in those circles where gift-giving, readings, and discussion of texts all regularly occurred in public.¹⁶ This illustration accompanying the copy of Salmon's letter transcribed in Charles VI's manuscript reflects the multifaceted audience that Salmon addressed; the rubric emphasizes that Salmon communicated in word and writing; in the picture, the enthroned

¹³ Hedeman 2001, pp. 39–40. Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues* exist in two versions. Although the manuscripts themselves do not contain a title, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 23279, ca. 1409, is called *Réponses à Charles VI et Lamentation au roi sur son état* and the revised version, ca. 1410–15, in Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 165 is called *Les demandes faites par le roi Charles VI*. This chapter and that by Bourassa in this volume (Chapter 4) will use *Dialogues* as the title for Pierre Salmon's texts.

¹⁴ Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 165, fol. 98r.

¹⁵ Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 165, fol. 99v.

¹⁶ For discussion of the *étrennes*, the annual ceremony of gift-giving in medieval France, see Buettner 2001; and Hirschbiegel 2003. For public reading, see Coleman 1996; and Hedeman 2008, pp. 3–6. For Salmon's use of imagery and texts to interweave audiences, see Hedeman 2009.



1.3 Pierre Salmon speaks to Charles VI. Pierre Salmon, *Dialogues*, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 165, fol. 95r. Photo Bibliothèque de Genève.

king is Salmon's primary focus, while an extended audience eavesdrops from the other side of the wall. The audience for illuminated copies of the *Des cas* was no doubt equally diverse.

Eustache Mercadé's contemporary play, the *Vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur*, completed after 1409 and before 1414, also explicitly associated the destruction of Jerusalem and the tale of Marie. It too framed the play with an overt comparison to the French civil war, thereby inviting a glossing of past with present. The *Vengeance* employed a "preacher" who, in his opening and closing sermons for the first day of the play, alludes to the civil war in the opening sermon:

Ainsi vient malediccion
 En toute place et en tout lieu
 Ou il n'y a cremeur de Dieu.
 Et pour tant a noz yeulx veons
 Guerres et tribulacions
 Dedans le royaulme de France ...
 Ne doubtez point qu'en tous pay's
 Ou pechiet et divisïon
 Regne par obstinacion,
 En la fin seront tout destruit.

[Thus a curse falls on every land and every place where there is no fear of God. And that is why we see with our own eyes wars and tribulations right here in the kingdom of France ... But have no doubt that in every land where sin and divisiveness reign through sheer obstinacy, they [the people] will be utterly destroyed.]¹⁷

and to the Jews in the closing sermon:

Proprement aux Juïfz resamblent.
 Contre Dieu s'asamblent et viennent
 Ceulx qui les biens d'aultrui retiennent,
 Comme larrons, pillars, brignans
 Qui sont maintes fois sur les champs.

[They are just like the Jews ... They band together against God, and men come and seize the property of others, like the thieves, pillagers, and brigands who all too often roam the countryside.]¹⁸

The existence of these large-scale frontispieces of Jerusalem's destruction both in four contemporary manuscripts of the *Des cas* illustrated by numerous artists and in contemporary texts like these by Pierre Salmon and Eustache Mercadé suggests that the pictorial message about the civil war and the visual rhetoric which encouraged reading past events through the lens of the present was almost certainly clear to both artist and audiences in early fifteenth-century Paris. Might there be visual resonances in other miniatures in John of Berry's and John the Fearless's manuscripts that would encourage different kinds of appropriations

¹⁷ For an edition of this text, see Wright 1989, p. 107 and n. 17.

¹⁸ Wright 1989, p. 108 and n. 33.

of the past, depending on the dukes' very different political orientations in 1410–12? In other words, are there amplifications in these textual and iconographical “twinning” manuscripts that John of Berry would interpret through an Armagnac lens and John the Fearless through that of a Burgundian? Was such specificity possible in images?

Alcibiades and Duke Louis of Orléans

The story of Alcibiades is one example of a shared cycle where a simple heraldic change to the Burgundian copy of the manuscript sharpened its contemporary political gloss. And a second example—the story of Lucretia—offers a case where a political message about tyranny and its punishment lodged firmly within a didactic, moralizing context had the potential to engender distinct reactions in John the Fearless and John of Berry.

The life of Alcibiades, a Greek leader from the fifth century BCE, was described in bk. 3, chaps. 12–13 of the *Des cas*. Its visual amplification in the paired miniatures of the Expedition of Alcibiades and the Bed of Alcibiades set on fire illustrates chapter 12, which contains the description of his life. However, the miniatures appear at the beginning of the sequential chapters 12 and 13, thereby stretching Alcibiades' visual story and giving him special emphasis (see Figures 1.4–1.5 for John of Berry's manuscript and Figures 1.6–1.7 for that of John the Fearless).

Laurent's translation of Boccaccio presents Alcibiades, a successful Athenian military leader, as an ambitious, charming, and rash ruler who first betrayed his fellow Athenians, and then betrayed the Spartans who sheltered him when he was forced to flee Athens. His machinations from his haven in Sparta stirred conflict between the commoners and the nobles of Athens, and resulted in an invitation to Alcibiades to return as duke of Athens when the noble Athenian “senators” were driven into exile. Alcibiades was not content with governing Athens. When Cyrus succeeded Darius as emperor of Persia, Alcibiades persuaded the Athenians to attack Asia. There fortune caught up with him. He was defeated, stripped of his dukedom, and banished. Lysander, the Spartan who had defeated Alcibiades and the Athenian forces during the Asian campaign, put 30 Athenians—the Thirty Tyrants—in charge of governing Athens in Sparta's name. When they discovered that Alcibiades was in refuge at Artaxerxes' court in Persia, they sent assassins to track him down and burn him alive in his bed.



1.4 Expedition of Alcibiades. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, trans. Laurent de Premierfait, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. 190/1, fol. 111v. Photo Bibliothèque de Genève.



1.5 Bed of Alcibiades set on fire. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, trans. Laurent de Premierfait, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. 190/1, fol. 114r. Photo Bibliothèque de Genève.

This story of Alcibiades given in chapter 12 is largely the same as that given by Boccaccio's Latin version and Laurent's initial translation in 1400. In Laurent's revised version of 1409, the only significant textual amplifications were cross-references to other books and chapters in the *Des cas* that contained fuller stories about figures mentioned in comparisons in chapter 13, such as Ulysses or Sardanapalus. Nonetheless, the revised version also included these two images, which show Alcibiades at the height of his power and at his most vulnerable, when he is punished by assassination.

Why is the story of Alcibiades amplified visually? On the most general level, the amplification of this particular tale shares with three other amplified scenes in John of Berry's and John the Fearless's manuscripts an

emphasis on the punishment of tyrants as usurpers of power.¹⁹ However, variations in the compositions of the miniatures in John the Fearless's manuscript make the contemporary resonance more explicit, by placing special emphasis on Alcibiades and by visually comparing him on his deathbed to Louis of Orléans, whose assassination in 1407 had been ordered by the Burgundian duke, the book's owner. In the first scene, which represents Alcibiades' ship sailing to one of the naval battles described in the chapter, John the Fearless's manuscript identifies Alcibiades, placing him prominently in the center, and having him wear a noble coronet to signal his ducal status (compare Figures 1.4 and 1.6). Alcibiades continues to wear his coronet later in life in the second image in John the Fearless's manuscript. The striking addition to this image of one of Louis of Orléans' emblems, the wolf (*loup*/Louis), on the tapestries enclosing Alcibiades' bed gloss him as Louis (compare Figures 1.5 and 1.7).

Some might object to the suggestion that this inclusion was a deliberate allusion to Louis of Orléans. After all, the image of Alcibiades on his deathbed is a variation on an established *Cité des Dames* workshop model that was also used ca. 1409–10 in Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues* (Figure 1.8). However, this kind of allusion happened in other texts illuminated by the *Cité des*

¹⁹ The others are Queen Athaliah of Jerusalem (bk. 2, chap. 8), King Zedekiah of Jerusalem (bk. 2, chap. 16), and Appius Claudius (bk. 3, chap. 9). Athaliah usurped the throne after she thought she had killed all the relations who had a closer claim than hers. In exchange for an oath of fealty, Zedekiah was named king of Jerusalem by the Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar in place of his brother, who was the legitimate ruler. Appius Claudius abused his power in order to fulfill his desire for Lucretia and was overthrown. For discussion of these, see Hedeman 2008, pp. 86–111.



1.6 Expedition of Alcibiades. Giovanni Boccaccio,
Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes, trans. Laurent de Premierfait,
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5193, fol. 119r. Photo BnF.



1.7 Bed of Alcibiades set on fire. Giovanni Boccaccio,
Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes, trans. Laurent de Premierfait,
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5193, fol. 122r. Photo BnF.

Dames workshop.²⁰ Two observations support a political interpretation for the addition of the picture in Laurent's translation of Boccaccio's *Des cas*. First, actual emblems or coats of arms are very rare in the *Cité des Dames* illuminators' illustrations to the *Des cas*; this is the sole emblem in the duke of Burgundy's manuscript, which only includes coats of arms in seven of the 150 miniatures in the manuscript.²¹ And second, the *Cité des Dames* artists were very careful to distinguish the animals decorating the ceremonial bed in these two miniatures (compare Figures 1.7 and 1.8). While King Charles VI's bed in the miniature of Salmon's *Dialogues* is decorated with his emblem of a *tigre* with its distinctly feathered tail, Alcibiades' bed is decorated by an animal with a plain tail. It is strikingly similar to Louis of Orléans' emblem of a wolf that stood in for Louis in the emblematic frontispieces for the illuminated manuscripts of Jean Petit's justification of the assassination of Louis of Orléans (Figure 1.9) made at the order of John the Fearless ca. 1408.²²

Manuscripts of Jean Petit's justification circulated widely among members of the Parisian nobility in manuscript and paper versions that reproduce the detailed argument delivered by Petit in a public defense on March 8, 1408 before a crowd that included John the Fearless and John of Berry, among others.²³ At the end of Petit's four-hour harangue, he offered eight principal truths by way of a conclusion. The third of these truths is consonant with the picture of Alcibiades. It claimed that moral, natural, and divine law legitimated killing a disloyal traitor even without a mandate. It is not only legitimate, "mais honnorable et méritoire, mesmement quant il est de si grant puissance que justice n'y peut estre faicte bonnement par le souverain" [but honorable and meritorious even when he is so powerful that justice cannot be meted out as it should by the sovereign].²⁴ In support of this third truth, Petit quoted three moral philosophers, one of whom was Boccaccio:

La tierce auctorité est de Bocace, en son livre: *De casibus virorum illustrium*, cap. V, *contra filios tiramos*, en parlant du tirant dit ainsi: "Le diray-je roy, le dirai-je prince, lui garderay-je foy comme à seigneur? Nonnil. Car il est ennemi de la chose publique. Contre cellui puis-je faire conspiration, prendre armes, mettre espies et employer force? C'est fait de courageux, c'est très sainte chose et très necesaire, car il n'est plus agréable sacrifice que le sang du tirant. C'est une chose importable de recevoir villenies pour bien faire."

²⁰ For the use of emblematic motifs in Christine de Pizan's works and in the *Grandes chroniques de France*, see Hindman 1986a; and Hedeman 1991, p. 163.

²¹ Fols. 349v, 370r, 377r, 386r, 389v, 395r, and 403v show the arms of King Arthur, Charlemagne, England and Normandy, the Angevin king of Jerusalem, France, and England. One *ciel* (fol. 329r) has a bird with a branch in its beak, and another (fol. 278r) may represent sunrays emerging from a cloud, but these are repeated motifs, not heraldically situated like the wolf.

²² See Willard 1969; and Nordenfalk 1977, and for a discussion of John the Fearless's use of emblems, see Hutchison 2006; and Hutchison 2007.

²³ See above n. 7, and for prior discussion of the passages from Petit's *Justification*, although not in direct relation to Alcibiades, see Hedeman 2008, pp. 102–4.

²⁴ Douët-D'Arq 1857–61, vol. 1, p. 206.



1.8 Pierre Salmon speaks to Charles VI. Pierre Salmon, *Dialogues*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 23279, fol. 19r. Photo BnF.



1.9 The lion attacks the wolf. Jean Petit, *Justification*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5733, fol. 2v. Photo BnF.

[The third authority is from Boccaccio in his book, *De casibus virorum illustrium*, chapter 5, *contra filios tyrannos*, who, when speaking of the tyrant says thus: "Do I call him king, do I call him prince, do I owe him faith as to a lord? No. Because he is an enemy of the common good. Against him can I conspire, take arms, send spies, and employ force? It is a courageous act, it is a holy and necessary thing, because there is no more agreeable sacrifice than the blood of a tyrant. It is unbearable to accept villainous behavior in order to do the right thing."]²⁵

The passage that Petit cites can be compared to the version in Laurent's chapter *Contre les roys et princes orgueilleux* [Against proud kings and princes] (*Des cas*, bk. 3, chap. 6) that Laurent had expanded in his revised translation of 1409 so as to emphasize the dangers of bad counsel, an appropriate addition when the structure of the governing council changed almost monthly. Laurent added an introductory phrase:

Et quant je voy que mon roy ou mon prince se efforce d'avoir avec soy tres mauvais conseilliers et de ensuivre leur conseil et de soy delicter en tres mauvaises œuvres et aussi je le voy en tous maulx et dommaiges prompt et esveillie ...

[And when I see that my king or my prince makes an effort to have with him very bad counselors and to follow their counsel and to take pleasure in very evil works and I also see him promptly and consciously (taking part?) in all evils and harmful deeds ...]²⁶

It would have been easy for the artist, whether acting on his own or at the suggestion of Laurent de Premierfait, to slip Louis's wolf into the image (see Figure 1.7). This simple addition of one of the duke of Orléans' emblems featured in Petit's *Justification* associated the assassinations of the tyrannical Alcibiades and of Louis of Orléans in the manuscript specially prepared for the duke of Burgundy. Indeed, the reference to Louis's assassination in a manuscript made four to five years after the event is not surprising, since the polemic surrounding Louis's death was still pertinent in summer 1411; John the Fearless continued to affirm the legitimacy of the assassination years after

²⁵ Douët-D'Arcq 1857–61, vol. 1, p. 208.

²⁶ Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 190/1, fol. 52r. Laurent's passage continues: "et je neantmoins considere que il est negligent, endormi et pereceux envers le bien et pour le salut publique. Se tu me demendes se je l'appelleray roy et se je le honnourerai comme prince et se je lui garderay foy comme on doit à seigneur, je te respons que nennil. Car ung tel roy ou tel prince n'est ton prince ne ton roy. Ains est ton ennemi. Cest œuvre donne vertueux en courage. C'est une tressainte chose et du tout necessaire de faire conjuracion, de prendre armes, de mettre espies, de emploier ses forces contre ung tel roy comme je ay maintenant dit. Car il n'est sacrifice tant agreable à Dieu comme est le sang d'un tirant et mauvais prince pour ce qu'il corrompt les droitz divins et humains." [(A)nd I nevertheless consider that he is careless, ineffective, and lazy in relation to the good and about the common good. If you ask me if I call him king and if I honor him like a prince and if I owe him faith as to a lord, I respond "no" to you. Because such a king or prince is not your prince or your king. To the contrary, he is your enemy. This work makes the heart virtuous. It is a holy and completely necessary thing to conspire, to take arms, to send spies, to employ his powers against such a king as I have now said. Because there is no sacrifice so agreeable to God as the blood of a tyrant or evil prince because he corrupts divine and human justice.]

it happened, suggesting in a letter to Louis of Orléans' sons that he had saved the king and his generation from a "disloyal traitor."²⁷

Lucretia and Tyranny

Adding the emblem of Louis's wolf to the miniatures amplified Alcibiades' story in the duke of Burgundy's manuscript, thus encouraging a contemporary, specifically pro-Burgundian reading for the duke of Burgundy. However such specific visual political glosses were rare in manuscripts of Laurent's *Des cas*. It was much more typical for manuscripts like the ducal copies to include politically-charged commentary in visual amplifications that could be meaningful to a broader audience. For example, certain visual amplifications, such as the unique amplification of the tale of the Roman matron Lucretia in the dukes' manuscripts, address tyranny and its punishment, topics that would have appealed to both sides in the civil war. The visual culture familiar to both John of Berry and John the Fearless enhanced political readings of their manuscripts.

The visualization of Lucretia's story clearly exemplifies how the visual and textual communities that flourished around the early fifteenth-century princes of the blood had the potential to shape their experience of past history. Livy's *History of Rome* was the ultimate source for Lucretia's story. It would have been a familiar tale in French intertextual and intervisual networks involving authors, translators, public and private readers, owners, and artists. Livy's history had been translated into French in 1354–59 by Pierre Bersuire for King John the Good and revised ca. 1408–10 by Laurent de Premierfait himself.²⁸ Livy describes how Lucretia was raped by Sextus Tarquinius, son of the Roman king, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, who took advantage of her hospitality when her husband Collatin was away. When Collatin returned with Lucretia's father and a friend, Lucretia described to them what had happened to her, and committed suicide in their presence to preserve her honor. The uproar that ensued led to the overthrow of the Roman monarchy.

The tale of Lucretia was well-known in late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century France through a series of illuminated translations from Latin that were available in royal and ducal libraries. The French translation by Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse of Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia* was begun in the 1370s and finished for John of Berry in 1401 and recorded Lucretia's story as the first example in the chapter on chastity. Lucretia was also featured as one of the women in the anonymous translation

²⁷ See Douët-D'Arcq 1857–61, vol. 2, p. 154: "Nous ... avons, pour nous acquiter loyaument et faire nostre devoir envers nostre très grant, redoubté et souverain seigneur, et sadicte génération, fait mourir, ainsi que devoit, le faux et desloial traistre." [We ... have, in order to acquit ourselves loyally and do our duty towards our great, revered, and sovereign lord and his offspring, killed, as was only right, the false and disloyal traitor.]

²⁸ On Laurent's revision of Livy, see Tesnière 1986; Tesnière 2000; Hedeman 2008, pp. 34–53; and Morrison and Hedeman 2010, pp. 81–4.



1.10 The suicide of Lucretia. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Des cleres et nobles femmes*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 598, fol. 72v. Photo BnF.



1.11 The rape and suicide of Lucretia. Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, trans. Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 282, fol. 242r. Photo BnF.

of Boccaccio's *Des cleres et nobles femmes*, also completed in 1401 and surviving in manuscripts owned by John of Berry and John the Fearless from 1403 and 1404. Finally, Laurent featured her in his translation of the *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*. Her exemplary death highlighted concerns about justice, tyranny, and assassination that were central to political discussion in fifteenth-century France when John the Fearless had his cousin Louis assassinated.

The illustrations of Lucretia in these French translations concentrate on her suicide. For instance, the illustration from the *Des cleres femmes* belonging to John of Berry's collection (Figure 1.10) concentrates on her dramatic death, perhaps in keeping with the brief moralizing paragraph in the text that stresses she did it for her honor, and that the franchise and the liberty of Rome resulted from the political firestorm this gesture set off.²⁹ The illustration to Valerius Maximus from his collection presents the story in two scenes (Figure 1.11).

²⁹ Baroin and Haffen 1993–95, vol. 1, pp. 160–161. See Quilligan 1991, pp. 156–61; and Buettner 1996.

1.12 The suicide of Lucretia.
Giovanni Boccaccio, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, trans. Laurent de Premierfait, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. 190/1, fol. 89v. Photo Bibliothèque de Genève.



The left-hand scene stages key narrative details of the moment of violation when Sextus Tarquinius came into her bedroom with a sword in his hand and put his hand on her chest as he threatened her. The right-hand scene takes place the next day. It shows Lucretia's suicide after she delivers her speech describing the rape to her father, her husband, and Lucius Junius Brutus. Lucretia's loose hair in this scene shows that her violation had happened.³⁰ This miniature is a visual amplification that creates a causal relationship between the two scenes—those who read the text after seeing it would attribute Lucretia's suicide to Sextus's violation of her.

³⁰ For comparable examples of loose or disheveled hair after a rape, see Wolfthal 1999, pp. 43–5.



1.13 Lucius Tarquinius Superbus murders King Servius Tullius. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, trans. Laurent de Premierfait, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. 190/1, fol. 88v. Photo Bibliothèque de Genève.

Illustrations in the ducal manuscripts of the *Des cas* play off this contemporary visual tradition to exploit Lucretia's suicide within an innovative visual amplification, exemplified here by John of Berry's manuscript (Figures 1.12–1.13). While the image of Lucretia's suicide in Figure 1.13 draws on the traditional iconography found in the duke's other books, there is a subtle shift in the image that encourages readers to focus on the three men and to differentiate Lucretia's old father and clean-shaven husband even more clearly from Lucius Junius Brutus who subsequently led the forces that overthrew the government in response to Lucretia's death.

The emphasis on male reaction and the increased concentration on Brutus that results plays well within the amplification of which this is a part. The

picture that begins chapter 3 (see Figure 1.12), the chapter subdivided by the image of Lucretia's suicide (see Figure 1.13), shows Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the father of Lucretia's rapist, murdering his predecessor, King Servius Tullius, and usurping power. The placement of these miniatures of murder and suicide at the beginning and middle of a chapter casts the suicide more as a response to the assassination and usurpation of power than as a personal affront.

Unusual image pairs like this one play an important role in the non-linear reading that Laurent promoted when he added his interior frontispiece of Jerusalem and textual cross-references to encourage readers to flip back and forth in the ducal manuscripts of the 1409 version of the *Des cas*. Just like his textual cross-references which juxtaposed fuller accounts in previous or subsequent chapters with an image, this visual amplification of the story of Lucretia would be associated with a textual passage in the famous chapter on tyranny (*Des cas*, bk. 3, chap. 6) that Jean Petit had already cited in his justification of John the Fearless's assassination of Louis of Orléans.³¹ After the first half of that chapter, which describes rulers who do not follow good counsel, Boccaccio turned to examples of men who accomplished great things. One of these was Lucius Junius Brutus. In the text of the *Des cas*, Laurent describes Brutus as a brother-in-law of Lucretia and he recounts Brutus' actions after her suicide: Brutus takes the knife from the wound and, accompanied by Lucretia's father and husband, announces the disloyal action of the king's son, and inspires the people of Rome and neighboring lands to overthrow the king and all his line.³² Whether deliberately done or not, the increased prominence of Brutus in the images concerning Lucretia complements his greater significance elsewhere in the manuscript, and the distinctive visual amplification would be recalled whenever Brutus was mentioned.

This image could have had partisan appeal in the wake of the assassination of Louis of Orléans. The graphic description of Brutus waving Lucretia's bloodied knife to incite a political reaction echoes a fifteenth-century response to Jean Petit's *Justification*. The rebuttal in 1408 by representatives of the Orléans family not only emphasized the duplicity of John the Fearless and the innocence of Louis of Orléans, but also evoked emotion in supporters by emphasizing the gruesome nature of the assassination, in which Louis was

³¹ See above at n. 21.

³² Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 190/1, fol. 90v: "Car depuiz que Junius Brutus, serourge de Lucrece, eut tiré hors de la plaie le fer du coustel, le dict Brutus et Lucrecius, le pere, et Collatin, le mari de ceste Lucrece, assamblèrent à conseil et à parlement tout le peuple de Collace et de Romme et leur monstrent les amis de Lucrece le disloyal et horrible meffait. Et accorderent entre eulx que ilz enhorteroient le peuple à crier et demander franchise tele comme il avoient devant le temps des rois." [Because as soon as Junius Brutus, the brother-in-law of Lucretia, had drawn the knife from the wound, Brutus and Lucretius, the father, and Collatin, the husband of Lucretia, assembled in council and parlement all the people of Collace and Rome and the friends of Lucretia showed them the disloyal and horrible act. And they agreed among themselves that they would exhort the people to call for liberty as they had before the time of the kings.]

hacked to bits on a Parisian street.³³ While comparison to Lucretia was never explicitly made in the text of Petit's justification or of the Orléans' rebuttal, it would be a likely association for someone like John of Berry, an Orléanist sympathizer, who was present when Louis of Orléans' sons orchestrated their argument and who owned at least three distinct illuminated manuscripts that illustrated Lucretia's death.

Conclusion

Laurent de Premierfait's visual rhetoric inflected the copies of the *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* that were prepared for the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. It sharpened specific associations between their manuscripts and a community of polemical texts and historical images. Manipulation of scale and of density of miniatures draw special attention to Laurent's visually amplified texts, encouraging careful reader/viewers to read against both the historical past and the fifteenth-century present. Subsequently, iconographic details that counter expectations—such as the inclusion of a popular visual formulation of Lucretia's suicide within a visual amplification containing a totally new image, the assassination of King Servius Tullius—implicate a whole body of illuminated texts in a dialogue with Laurent's *Des cas*. Even the introduction of details of fifteenth-century costume and selective badges or emblems encourage John of Berry and John the Fearless of Burgundy to read first-century Jews as a metaphor for fifteenth-century French people, or the Athenian Alcibiades as comparable to Duke Louis of Orléans. This interpenetration of visual and textual communities that cluster around stories provides insight into both the power of history and the history of power in early fifteenth-century France.

³³ See Douët-D'Arcq 1857–61, vol. 1, pp. 269–334, especially p. 285, when the speaker imagines how the spirit of Louis would speak to the king.

Appendix

Visual amplifications unique to Duke John of Berry's and Duke John the Fearless's manuscripts of the *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*.

- Bk. 2, chaps. 8–9 Executioners drag Queen Athaliah by her hair; Beheading of Athaliah (bk. 2, chap. 9: Against covetousness of things).
- Bk. 2, chaps. 11–12 Dido's husband murdered by her brother; Suicide of Dido (bk. 2, chap. 12: In praise of Dido).
- Bk. 2, chaps. 13–14 Sardanapalus spins with his wives; Suicide of Sardanapalus (bk. 2, chap. 14: Against Sardanapalus and those like him).
- Bk. 2, chaps. 16 and 17 Zedekiah blinded at the command of Nebuchadnezzar; Zedekiah dies in prison (bk. 2, chap. 17: The condition of mortality).
- Bk. 3, chaps. 3–4 Lucius Tarquinius murders King Servius; Suicide of Lucretia; David and Bathsheba (bk. 3, chap. 4: Against princes prone to *luxuria*).
- Bk. 3, chaps. 9–10 Verginius beheading Verginia; Suicide of Appius Claudius (bk. 3, chap. 10: Against false legists).
- Bk. 3, chaps. 12–13 Expedition of Alcibiades sailing to Sicily; Bed of Alcibiades set on fire (bk. 3, chap. 13: *Excusation* of Alcibiades; Against *oisiveté*).

Visual amplifications unique to Duke John the Fearless's manuscript of the *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*.

- Bk. 1, chap. 13–14 Priam's murder by Achilles' son Pyrrhus in the Temple of Jupiter; Hecuba witnesses the murder of her grandson, the infant Astyanax (bk. 1, chap. 13: Against pride).
- Bk. 1 chaps. 15–16 Aegisthus, Bishop of Mycenae, has Agamemnon killed with Queen Clytemnestra's help; Diogenes in barrel observes boy drinking from hands (bk. 1, chap. 16: In praise of poverty).
- Bk. 1, chaps. 17–18 Samson destroys the temple; Jupiter and Danaë (bk. 1, chap. 18: Against women).

Visual amplifications shared by the two dukes' manuscripts and by a small group of additional manuscripts: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 63; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. S.n. 12766, and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 226.

- Bk. 7, chaps. 8–9 Destruction of Jerusalem in which Titus receives tribute money and Jews are sold into captivity; Jewish noblewoman Marie eats her child (bk. 7, chap. 9: Against the Jews).

Visual amplifications shared with other manuscripts of the *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*.

- Bk. 2, chaps. 2–3 Samuel anoints Saul; Saul kills himself (bk. 2, chap. 3: In praise of obedience).
- Bk. 2, chaps. 5–6 King Rehoboam holds court; King of Egypt imposes conditions of peace on Rehoboam; The Etruscan king Porsenna pulls Mucius Scaevola's hand from the fire (bk. 2, chap. 6: Against proud kings).
- Bk. 2, chaps. 18–19 Cyrus nursed by a wild dog; Dream of Simonides (bk. 2, chap. 19: On dreams).
- Bk. 2, chaps. 23–4 Tullus Hostilius watches Mettius Fufetius drawn in two; The writer speaks (bk. 2, chap. 24: Against fraud).
- Bk. 3, chaps. 6–7 Xerxes I and army cross bridge; Xerxes I dismembered by the commander of his bodyguard (bk. 3, chap. 7: Against the blindness of mortal man).
- Bk. 4, chaps. 3–4 frame left blank; Assassination of Clerchus (bk. 4, chap. 4: Against tyrants).
- Bk. 9, chaps. 5–6 Imprisonment of Desidarius, king of the Lombards, and his family; Pope Joan giving birth (bk. 9, chap. 6: Against pride).

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How to Wield Power with Justice: The Fifteenth-Century *Roman de Florimont* as a Burgundian “Mirror for Princes”

Rosalind Brown-Grant

Résumé français: *Ce chapitre se concentre sur la version en prose du Roman de Florimont d'Aimon de Varennes, texte en vers du XII^e siècle, qui fut composée à la cour de Bourgogne au milieu du XV^e siècle et conservée dans un seul manuscrit, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, richement décoré par l'artiste lillois surnommé le “Maître de Wavrin.” Cette mise en prose transforme sa source, dont les thèmes principaux étaient l'amour et la largesse, en un véritable “miroir du prince,” proposant à son lectorat de nobles bourguignons des leçons de bonne conduite chevaleresque et judiciaire par l'intermédiaire d'un héros censé être le grand-père d'Alexandre le Grand, que les ducs de Bourgogne considéraient comme leur ancêtre. Florimont, parangon de prouesse militaire et, surtout, défenseur de justice, mène la guerre juste contre des tyrans et des oppresseurs, fait preuve de clémence envers ses ennemis vaincus, utilise la largesse comme instrument de justice, et établit la paix dans tous les royaumes qu'il soumet à son pouvoir. La portée de ces leçons écrites est encore accrue par une série d'images très originales qui utilisent toutes les ressources du langage visuel: chromatisme, composition, costume, et gestuelle.*

While the term “mirror for princes” naturally leads us to think of texts such as Giles of Rome’s *De regimine principum* or John of Salisbury’s *Policraticus*, both of which enjoyed great popularity among medieval readers, it was by no means only such works of political theory that offered advice to rulers on how to govern wisely.¹ As Dominique Boutet, in a recent article on literary texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, usefully reminds us:

I would like to thank Le STUDIUM, Loire Valley, France, for awarding me a Research Fellowship in 2011–12, during which time this chapter was written. I am also grateful to S. H. Rigby for his expertise on “mirrors for princes” and his unfailing willingness to provide comments on this chapter.

¹ On the “mirror for princes” genre, see Born 1926; Bell 1962; Krynen 1981; Monfrin 1982; Krynen 1993; Senellart 1995; Nederman 1997; Kempshall 1999; Briggs 1999; Williams 2003; and Rigby 2009.

Nous ne saurions faire de la littérature didactique et de la littérature narrative deux mondes séparés. Nous forcerions peut-être même à peine les choses en soutenant que le développement de la littérature en langue vulgaire au XII^e siècle serait lié à un besoin d'illustrer concrètement des théories, que celles-ci intéressent l'amour ou le politique. C'est que sa fonction, autant que de distraire, est de définir, de célébrer et d'approfondir.

[We should not think of didactic and narrative literature as being two separate entities. It is scarcely an exaggeration to suggest that the development of vernacular literary texts in the twelfth century was linked to the need to provide a concrete illustration of theoretical ideas, whether these concern love or politics. This is because the function of literature, in addition to that of entertainment, is to define, to celebrate, and to elaborate.]²

One such narrative work which was clearly meant both to entertain and to teach is Aimon de Varennes's *Roman de Florimont*, the date of which is given in the text itself as 1188.³ This romance opens with a prologue in which the author presents himself as a traveler who brought back from Greece this tale about love and the beneficent effects of *largesse* [generosity] which he dedicates to an unknown lady.⁴ Featuring the putative grandfather of Alexander the Great, the poem recounts the life of Florimont, son of Duke Matakart of Albania. Florimont's chivalric debut consists of two single combats in which he kills a monster that has been terrorizing the local people and the giant Garganeus, nephew of the emir of Carthage, who has been exacting an unfair tribute from the hero's father. These combats are then followed by a military campaign to help his maternal uncle, King Medon, crush a rebellion by one of his subjects. Shortly afterwards, on being separated by his tutor, Maistre Flocart, from his first love, the fairy-like Dame de l'Isle Celee, on the grounds that she selfishly wants her lover to abandon his country and live with her on her secret island, Florimont sinks into a depression for three years, during which time he gives away all of his father's wealth and takes on a new identity, that of the "Povre Perdu" [Poor Lost Man]. However, on meeting Rissus, the young duke of Calabria, the hero takes up his chivalric vocation once more as he goes off with him to serve King Philip of Macedon in his war against Candiobras, the Hungarian king to whom Philip has refused to grant the hand of his daughter, Romadanaple, in marriage. Florimont, whose real identity is soon revealed to the Macedonian court, succeeds in winning the war for Philip and so earns the reward of marrying Romadanaple and being crowned king of Macedon. His final exploit is to liberate his own father who has been taken prisoner in

² Boutet 2007, p. 159. Translations of all quotations from primary and secondary sources are my own. One area of politics that is particularly well represented in the narrative texts of the twelfth century is that pertaining to the law, since the romances and epics of the period abound in episodes of treason, betrayal, and false witness: see Ribémont 2011.

³ For an edition of this text from which all verse quotations are taken, see Hilka 1933.

⁴ After a long imprecation against avarice, the narrator concludes: "Boins princes doit toz jors despandre/ Et conquerer, doner et prandre;/ Car largesse est meire d'amour/ Et de proësse et de valour" [The good prince must always spend,/ Conquer, give and take;/ For largesse is the mother of love/ And of prowess and valour] (vv. 93–6).

the fortress of Clavegris by the emir of Carthage in revenge for Florimont's killing of his nephew, Garganeus, in the course of which the hero ends up subjugating Carthage itself to his rule. On his death, he leaves a large domain of well-governed lands to his own son, Philip, a far less virtuous ruler than himself, who is succeeded in turn by his more illustrious offspring, Alexander the Great.

This tale thus comprises a number of different elements. It is a pseudo-history that features a completely fictitious hero and splits the real Philip of Macedon into two separate characters of the same name, the first an exemplary king and the second a ruthless tyrant. It is also a courtly love story, but with a political twist, in which the hero has to shift his affections from a woman who would block the fulfilment of his destiny to one whose hand in marriage provides him with a kingdom. Furthermore, it can be seen as a manual of warfare, in that the only chivalric deeds which it recounts are acts of war, there being no space given here to the jousts or tournaments that are the staple of the Arthurian romances produced by the author's contemporaries, such as Chrétien de Troyes. Using the hero's exploits as a means of inculcating princely virtues in its readers, with a particular emphasis on that of *largesse*, the *Roman de Florimont* conforms to Boutet's description of how such narratives differ from more overtly didactic "mirrors for princes" such as that of Giles of Rome, in having the capacity to "dramatiser la leçon et donc à la rendre plus efficace" [to dramatize a lesson and so render it more effective].⁵

The *Roman de Florimont* was reworked into prose three times in the later Middle Ages.⁶ The version which found favor at the court of Valois Burgundy is faithful to the basic structure of Aimon de Varennes's text but adds a completely new prologue, greatly expands the war sequences such as the hero's first military campaign on behalf of his uncle and the final conflict with the Carthaginians,⁷ and devotes several extra chapters to the disastrous rule of Florimont's son, Philip. This Burgundian redaction, preserved in only one manuscript, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566,⁸ which dates from the early 1450s, brings out the didactic import of the verse original with particular force and is endowed with a miniature cycle of no fewer than 109 pen and watercolor

⁵ Boutet 2007, p. 155.

⁶ The version known as the short prose redaction, which ends with the coronation of Florimont, is preserved in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1490 and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3476; the expanded version which interests us here is Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566; the third, which in fact bears only the faintest resemblance to Aimon de Varennes's original, as can be seen from its title—*Le Livre de Flourimont filz du duc Jehan d'Orleans et de Helaine fille au duc de Bretagne*—is in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1488.

⁷ See Castellani 2010.

⁸ All quotations from the Burgundian prose *Florimont* are taken from the edition of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566 contained in Hélène Bidaux's doctoral thesis (Bidaux 2007, pp. 156–351). Given that this thesis remains unpublished and is thus difficult to access (my thanks going to Marie-Madeleine Castellani, in her capacity as Bidaux's thesis supervisor, for kindly allowing me to consult a copy of it), I have cited parenthetically immediately after quotations from the text both page references to the thesis and folio references to the manuscript.

images which were executed by the artist known as the “Wavrin Master” whose workshop was based in Lille.⁹ While it is uncertain who was actually responsible for writing this version of the romance, the artist’s chief patron, Jean de Wavrin,¹⁰ a chronicler, bibliophile, and counselor to the duke Philip the Good, probably commissioned it and gave it to the duke for his own collection.¹¹ The initial letter on the first folio of the manuscript bears the arms of Burgundy and the text itself is mentioned as belonging to the ducal library in the inventory of 1467–69 which was drawn up after Philip’s death.¹²

Charity Cannon Willard has suggested that this version of the *Roman de Florimont* with its youthful hero was intended more for the adolescent prince, the future Charles the Bold, than for the mature Philip himself.¹³ As evidence to back up this suggestion, we can cite the fact that the author of the new prologue to the Burgundian prose version claims to have been 18 years old when, in 1418, he stumbled across a copy of the story of Florimont, translated into Latin from the Greek, which he decided to translate into French so as to occupy his time while overwintering in Salonica on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This well-worn topos of finding an unknown manuscript in a library may have been employed in this particular instance to appeal to the young Charles of Burgundy who, being born in 1433, would have been around the same age in the 1450s as the putative author claims to have been when he wrote his version of the romance.¹⁴ Ultimately, whether aimed at Charles or his father, the text itself was clearly designed to cater to the appetite at the Burgundian court for tales of Alexander and his ancestors, as can be seen in the new version of the conqueror’s story that the scribe and translator Jean Wauquelin had been commissioned to write only a few years before, and the series of massive tapestries representing Alexander that were produced for the duke several years later.¹⁵ In the spirit of *translatio studii et imperii*, the author of the prose *Roman de Florimont* thus offers to his audience an account of the “merveilleuses adventures et haulx fais advenus et achevés par la chevalerye grigoise qui jadis fu moult hault eslevee par tous rengnes” [the marvelous adventures

⁹ The images in this manuscript can all be viewed on the BnF’s Mandragore website. On the Wavrin Master, see Bergmans 1896, pp. 171–85; Desonay 1932a; Desonay 1932b; Delaissé 1956, pp. 17–18; Crone 1969; Dogaer 1987, pp. 91–5; Avril 1993; Schandel 1997; Gil 1998; Johan 1999; Charron 2004, pp. 243–66; and Schandel 2011.

¹⁰ See Visser-Fuchs 2002; and Marchandise 2006.

¹¹ On Jean de Wavrin as a bibliophile, see Naber 1987; Naber 1990; and Wijsman 2010, pp. 472–9.

¹² See Doutrepoint 1909; and Doutrepoint 1939.

¹³ Willard 1971. There was a long-standing tradition at the Burgundian court of commissioning didactic works for the education of young princes, which includes texts such as Christine de Pizan’s *Livre des faits d’armes et de chevalerie* for the dauphin Louis of Guyenne, written at the probable behest of his uncle, Duke John the Fearless, and a new translation of Giles of Rome’s *De regimine principum* that Philip the Good requested from Jean Wauquelin.

¹⁴ On this topos in medieval prologues, see Baumgartner 1999.

¹⁵ For an edition of this text, see Hériché 2000. For studies of Alexander literature at the Burgundian court, see Gaullier-Bougassas 1998; Gosman 2002; Hériché 2008; and Blondeau 2009. On the Alexander tapestries, see Rapp Buri and Stucky-Schürer 1998.

and great deeds performed by Greek knighthood which was formerly highly esteemed throughout the world] (p. 156/fol. 1r).

What specific lessons in rulership, then, does this late medieval prose romance seek to draw out from its account of the life of Alexander's supposed grandfather? How far do these lessons diverge from the verse original's emphasis on *largesse*? And how do the Wavrin Master's miniatures translate these abstract principles of rulership into visual form so as to highlight the didactic dimension of the narrative?¹⁶

By examining the interplay of text and image in this manuscript, I will argue that the prose romance puts forward justice in the exercising of power as the chief virtue that the noble ruler must adopt if he is to ensure both the safety of the realm in times of war and its prosperity in times of peace.¹⁷ After outlining the importance explicitly given to justice in the teachings offered by various characters in the text, I will examine how its recounting of the hero's deeds demonstrates justice in action through the undertaking of just wars, the granting of mercy, the use of *largesse* as an instrument of justice, and the establishment of a lasting peace. While the lessons presented in this romance are not, in themselves, at all original, being wholly in line with those found in the standard "mirrors for princes" of the medieval period, what is striking is the range of visual strategies adopted by the artist to bring out these didactic elements. Such inventiveness on his part is all the more remarkable given the lack of a specific iconographical tradition in the manuscripts of these moralizing works.¹⁸

Justice as Principal Virtue

In medieval works belonging to the "mirrors for princes" tradition, justice, along with prudence, temperance, and fortitude, is invariably presented as one of the four cardinal virtues that the good ruler must possess.¹⁹ This is true in the case of pagan princes from classical antiquity (such as Florimont himself) who cannot, of course, aspire to the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity which are also cited in these texts as being indispensable

¹⁶ On a manuscript of the verse original of the *Roman de Florimont* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 15101) which had spaces for a series of images that were never completed, see Busby 2005.

¹⁷ See Krynen 1981, p. 155: "À la fin du Moyen Âge comme au IX^e siècle, le bon prince est celui qui règne au service de la paix et de la justice" [At the end of the Middle Ages, as in the ninth century, the good prince is the one whose reign serves the causes of peace and justice].

¹⁸ See Hindman 1986a; Camille 1993; Sherman 1995; and Lepot 2012.

¹⁹ See, for example, the Dominican friar Jacobus de Cessolis's *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ac popularium super ludo scaccorum* which was translated in 1347 as *Le Jeu des eschaz moralisé* by Jean Ferron and edited in Collet 1999, p. 135: "Le roy doit souverainement justice garder. Que seroit royaume sanz justice fors que une grant larrouniere?" [The king must above all maintain justice. What would a realm without justice be but a den of thieves?]. On the centrality of the four cardinal virtues in medieval theological and political thought, see Rigby 2009, pp. 32–4; and Bejczy 2011, pp. 135–211.

to the Christian ruler.²⁰ Although, as a work of imaginative literature, our romance does not present the cardinal virtues in any systematic manner, it does highlight the centrality of justice in the prince's panoply of necessary attributes by having an elderly ruler deliver a set of teachings to his son on precisely this topic at both the beginning and end of the narrative. These lessons are added by the *prosateur* [the person responsible for reworking the text into prose] to the disquisitions on *largesse* given by Maistre Flocart to Florimont that are repeated from the verse romance but in greatly reduced form.²¹ By virtue of their prominent position in the text, these lessons reveal how the prose version shifts the emphasis from *largesse* onto justice as the chief virtue to be inculcated in both the characters and, by extension, the reader.

The first of these sequences concerns King Madian of Babylon talking to his sons Seloc and Philip, just before he sends them off to take up their role as his successors in their respective kingdoms: Seloc, the elder, receives Egypt and Babylon, whilst Philip, the younger, receives Greece. The second sequence features the dying Florimont instructing his son Philip, who begins by explicitly citing his own reign as an important example for his heir to follow. In each case, in addition to offering the commonplace injunctions to rulers not to listen to flatterers but to seek out trustworthy counselors, not to give way to anger, etc., the elderly monarch makes justice the cornerstone of his instruction. Thus Madian exhorts his two sons, saying: "sy gouvernez vos terres chacun de vous en bonne paix et en justice" [each of you must govern your lands in peace and justice] (p. 157/fol. 4r), a view which Florimont echoes with his own recommendation: "gardés sur toutes choses que tenés et maintenés justice" [above all, you must ensure that you uphold and maintain justice] (p. 326/fol. 249r). The importance attached to these two sets of instructions in the narrative is underlined by the miniatures dedicated to these two sequences, in each of which a heavily bearded monarch gesticulates with upheld or outstretched hands in order to show that he possesses the requisite wisdom and experience of age to act as a voice of authority. However, these two images also employ other visual strategies that highlight the seriousness with which the two monarchs acquit themselves in their instructional duties. In the first (Figure 2.1), King Madian's responsibility of office, indicated by the long robe and crown that he wears and the throne on which he sits, is contrasted with the more leisured existence of the two sons as shown by their shorter, tighter garments,²² and in particular by the hawk that each of them holds on his

²⁰ See Bejczy 2011, p. 140, who cites the *Breviloquium* of the thirteenth-century Franciscan theologian, John of Wales: "if the ancients were so virtuous on behalf of mere temporal ends ... Christians should exert themselves all the more, aided by faith, hope, charity and the prospect of eternal bliss."

²¹ For Duke Matakart's instruction to Florimont concerning *largesse* in vv. 1920–54, see p. 175/fol. 29v; and for Maistre Flocart's instruction on this same virtue in vv. 2751–76, see p. 183/fol. 42r.

²² See Blanc 2002.



2.1 Madian offers teachings on good government to his sons Seloc and Philip. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 3v. Photo BnF.

arm. Their leisure will be brought to an end as each is henceforth obliged to take up the reins of power from their father. The authoritative example which Madian himself represents for his sons as the ruler of a well-ordered court is suggested by the impression of chromatic harmony that dominates the image, with all the figures present being similarly dressed in red, green, or white brocaded garments, and only their different forms of headgear or length of beard serving to distinguish their respective ages and functions. In the second of these two images of paternal and regal instruction, that of Florimont with his son Philip (Figure 2.2), the ruler's commitment to his pedagogical role is seen in the fact that, unlike the magisterial Madian, he is



2.2 Florimont offers teachings on good government to his son Philip (future father of Alexander the Great). *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 248r. Photo BnF.

on his deathbed and is dressed only in his nightshirt, this act of instructing his son being one of the final duties that he will perform. The much more somber atmosphere of this scene compared to that of Madian enthroned is evoked by the predominance of the color blue, but Florimont's own undoubted status as a model ruler for his son is shown by the contorted body language of his courtiers and counselors who can barely restrain themselves from giving in to their grief at the imminent loss of their beloved and illustrious king.

Bookending the tale of Florimont with these textual and visual exhortations to sons to follow their fathers' example as devotees to the cause of justice, the actual narrative of the hero's adventures portrays him as the living embodiment of these moral precepts through his actions.²³ This is most clearly seen in the way in which Florimont conducts himself in war. Moralizing works such as "mirrors for princes" categorized war as just if it were undertaken in defense of the realm, to uphold the common good, to fight against a tyrant, or to right a wrong, rather than being motivated by a desire for conquest or revenge.²⁴ The end result of a just war should be peace, justice, and stability, even if this involves subordination and obedience to the victor on the part of the defeated so as to prevent further outbreaks of conflict. What distinguishes the just ruler in his role of warrior from that of the tyrant is his willingness to show mercy and to treat his allies according to their deserts, his ultimate aim being to be loved rather than to be feared.²⁵ How, then, are these precepts presented in this manuscript of the *Roman de Florimont* in both textual and visual terms?

Justice and Just War

From the outset, the narrative shows each of the hero's military undertakings as being inspired by a desire to remedy an obvious injustice perpetrated by another ruler who is either a disloyal rebel, a tyrant, a would-be conqueror, or an avenger, and whose actions are causing widespread suffering to a whole people and destabilizing a realm. Florimont thus joins the fight against Amadas, a former protégé of his uncle's who has rebelled against him, on the grounds that "a tort et a malvaise cause il luy faisoit guerre et destruisoit son povre poeple" [he is in the wrong and without good cause in waging war on him and destroying his poor people] (p. 187/fol. 46v).²⁶ Likewise, when the

²³ On justice as a set of ethical actions, see Perkams 2008.

²⁴ See Rigby 2009, pp. 186–9.

²⁵ See Krynen 1981, p. 119: "Tous les efforts du bon prince, en effet, doivent tendre à aimer et à être aimé de ses sujets, sans cesser d'être craint" [All the efforts of the good prince must be towards loving and being loved by his subjects, while still being feared by them].

²⁶ The cause of Amadas's rebellion is put down to his being badly advised by his counselors, whom he has chosen from amongst the clergy and the lower ranks of society rather than his own nobles (pp. 186–7/fol. 46v).

hero takes up arms in single combat against the tyrannical Garganeus over the latter's exacting of an unfair tribute from his father, he offers a proper military challenge to the messengers of the offending giant:

A tort et a malvaïse cause l'a levé et pris, sy luy dittes que se mon amour voelt avoir, il me renvoye che qu'il en a eu ou, se sy hardy n'est que de venir a moy pour combatre, il m'envoye pleges et bons hostages.

[He is in the wrong and acting without good cause in levying this tribute, so you should inform him that, if he wants my friendship, he should send back to me everything he has taken and, if he is not bold enough to come and fight me, he should send me his pledges and worthy hostages.] (p. 194/fols. 57v–58r)

Florimont decries Candiobras for waging a vengeful war on Philip of Macedon after having been rebuffed by the king when he requested the hand of his daughter: "Mal voisin fait bon chassier ariere, qui la force en a et pooir, car qui laisse ung felon en son païs, jamais sans guerre ne poet estre" [A bad neighbor should be chased away, if one has the strength and power to do so, because whoever lets a villain into his lands will never be free from war] (p. 230/fol. 107r). The hero's final campaign against the emir of Carthage is launched when he hears from his mother's messengers that the emir, out of revenge for Florimont's killing of Garganeus, has taken advantage of the hero's absence from the country in order to ravage his father's lands and make the duke himself a prisoner: "l'amiral de Cartage est venus en vostre terre d'Albanye, laquelle a toute arse et destruite et tout le païs confondu, vostre citey prise et le chastel abatu" [the emir of Carthage has entered your territory of Albania, which he has burnt and destroyed and cast the whole country into confusion, taking your city and bringing down the citadel] (p. 283/fol. 180v).

In order to translate the text's insistence on the justness of Florimont's cause into visual terms, the Wavrin Master discredits the hero's opponents visually. In the miniature featuring the single combat against Garganeus (Figure 2.3), the artist provides a pictorial complement to the text's depiction of this figure as an archetypal tyrant, being hate-filled, treacherous, and making immoderate threats to his young opponent (p. 197/fol. 63v).²⁷ The thoroughly chivalric appearance of Florimont, with his bright armor and weapons, plumed *cimier* (crest), and red trappings on his horse, is thus contrasted with the grotesque appearance of the outsized Garganeus, with his long, prominent nose and pointed chin, unchivalric club, and pale blue and brown *parti* fringed jerkin and hose. The giant's costume, whose pattern and cut carry iconographical connotations of untrustworthiness,²⁸ signals not only his hubris in refusing

²⁷ For a classic description of the tyrant in medieval political thought, see Thomas Aquinas's *On Princely Government*, in Entrèves 1948, pp. 15–19.

²⁸ See Mérindol 1989, p. 210; and Pastoureau 1991, p. 33, n. 20, on the link between the two-colored costume, stripes, and fringes as bearing negative connotations of transgression. See also the discussion of this sartorial detail in Chapter 8 in this volume.

2.3 Florimont confronts Garganeus while their respective armies look on. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 63r. Photo BnF.



to wear any armor but also his duplicitousness, as when he pretends to yield to the hero while actually reaching for his weapon to kill him (p. 200/fol. 66r). In addition to suggesting the justness of Florimont's cause through this unfavorable physical comparison between a chivalric and an unchivalric foe, the artist also makes unmistakable visual reference to the biblical story of David and Goliath, a parallel which is reinforced in the following miniature (Figure 2.4) where the far smaller but victorious hero rides away with the head of the defeated giant on the end of his lance.

The death of Garganeus has important consequences for Florimont. It sparks a war of vengeance against his father by the giant's uncle, the emir of Carthage, whom the text also represents as a tyrannical figure prepared

2.4 The victorious Florimont parades Garganeus's head on the end of his lance. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 65v. Photo BnF.





2.5 Messengers tell the emir of Carthage about the fall of Clavegris into Florimont's hands. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 211v. Photo BnF.

even to betray his own subjects. The visual link between nephew and uncle as unjust, discredited rulers against whom Florimont embarks on a totally legitimate war is made evident in the image (Figure 2.5) where we see the emir's birthday celebrations being interrupted by a messenger who announces that Clavegris has fallen into the hero's hands. Not only does the *parti* costume in red and yellow of the dancing figure on the left recall the two-colored outfit worn by the duplicitous Garganeus, but the sheer variety of colors, patterns, and trims on the characters' robes, as well as the extravagance of their pointed hats and the long tippets on the dancing figure's sleeves, create an impression of misrule at the emir's court that reflects his own immoderate character, particularly when contrasted with the harmonious representation of the court of King Madian with its limited palette of colors and fabrics as seen earlier in the manuscript (Figure 2.1).²⁹

Garganeus and the emir of Carthage are thus unequivocally portrayed by the Wavrin Master as being the exotic and untrustworthy "Other" in the iconographical cycle of this text. They differ from the more soberly dressed—if at times still "orientalized"—Greeks and Albanians, most notably Philip of Macedon and Florimont himself, who bear a far closer sartorial resemblance to the Burgundian nobles featured in other manuscripts of prose romances illustrated by the same artist.³⁰ In contrast, the negative depiction of

²⁹ See Blanc 1997, pp. 63–4, who discusses the representation of the "Other" in medieval art in precisely these terms of clashing polychromy and excessive variety of garments using the example of a crucifixion scene from the early fifteenth-century *Missel de Saint-Magloire de Paris* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 623, fol. 213Av), in which Christ's dignified followers are distinguished by their restrained dress from his garishly clad Jewish tormentors.

³⁰ In particular, as Schandel 1997, vol. 2, p. 124, points out, there are close links between the manuscript of *Florimont* and that of the *Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre* (Brussels, BR, Ms.

2.6

Candiobras's messengers ask Philip for his daughter's hand in marriage, making threats in the event of his non-compliance. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 20r. Photo BnF.



Candiobras, king of Hungary, highlights the legitimacy of Florimont's taking up Philip's cause against him. In this case (Figure 2.6), the disrespectful body language of the emissaries whom Candiobras sends to Philip is indicative of the character and intentions of the man who employs them. One of Candiobras's messengers points aggressively with his right hand at Philip and touches one of Philip's feet with his own. He receives no angry rebuff from the restrained and neutral Macedonian king,³¹ who sits majestically with crossed legs on his throne. Indeed, the text explains that Candiobras's emissaries are subsequently so well treated by Philip, much to their own surprise after having delivered such an offensive message to him, that they themselves regret their earlier discourteous behavior. On returning to Candiobras's court, they therefore inform him that a properly amicable request to the Macedonian king would elicit a more favorable response from Philip than threats (p. 172/fol. 26r), but, being the bad ruler he is, the tyrant refuses to take their advice.³²

10238) which was produced in 1456 and borrows many of the same adventures—especially those involving the hero Louis de Gavre's travels in Greece—from the earlier work.

³¹ The king's calm response is indicative of his having internalized the important instruction to the prince not to show anger, as both Madian and Florimont instruct their respective sons. This slowness to anger is a regular precept in the "mirrors for princes" tradition: see Senellart 1995, p. 121: "A la colère, qui appelle vengeance, s'oppose donc la patience. L'emportement colérique exprime moins un excès vital qu'un défaut de vertu. Figure extrême de l'impatience qui n'est elle-même que l'effet d'un excessif amour de soi" [The opposite of anger, which leads only to vengeance, is patience. Being carried away by anger is seen less as a form of excess than as a lack of virtue. It is an extreme form of impatience which is itself nothing less than an excessive love of self]. On the need for the king's body language to remain restrained, see Schmitt 1990, p. 231, who cites the views of Hugh of St Victor and Giles of Rome to the effect that "Les gestes désordonnés révèlent un homme fou, orgueilleux ou sans mesure; les gestes 'ordonnés et honnêtes' sont le miroir de la prudence et de la bonté" [Disordered gestures suggest a man who is mad, proud, or immoderate; "well ordered and respectable" gestures reflect a man's prudence and goodness].

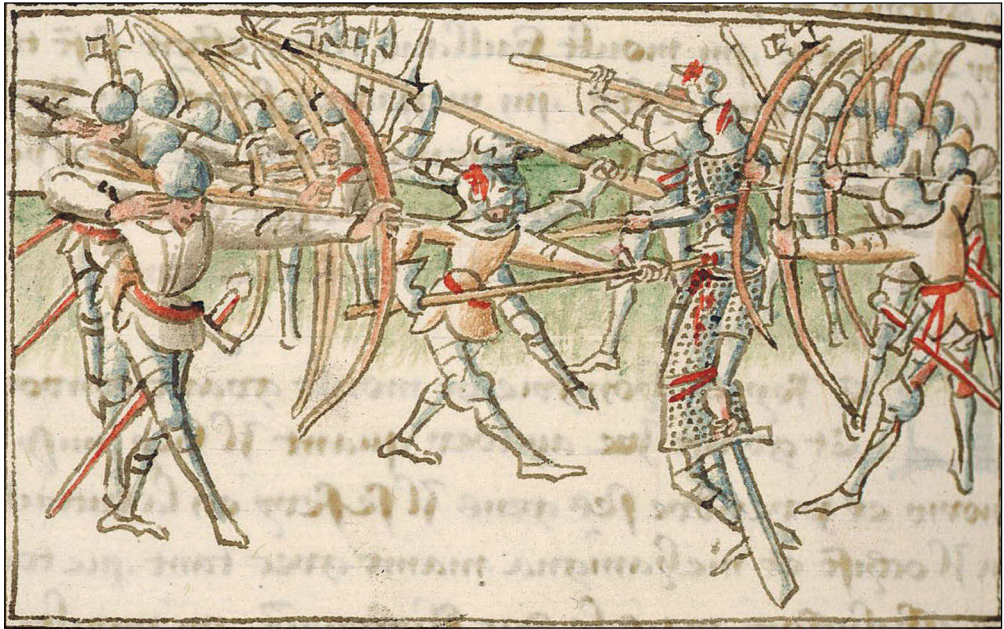
³² See Rigby 2009, p. 194: "a refusal to take counsel was one of the features which distinguished a wilful tyrant from a rightful ruler."

Having visually discredited Florimont's enemies so as to establish that in each case he is on the side of justice, the artist goes on to provide plentiful images of battle scenes. These reveal the hero as both a supremely valiant warrior and a superb military strategist, one who, having assured himself of being in the right, uses any means necessary to achieve victory, even if it involves ambush or an attack at night. In this respect, both text and image are utterly in line with the advice given in both "mirrors for princes" and manuals of warfare such as those of Vegetius, Honorat Bovet, and Christine de Pizan.³³ The chief lesson that emerges from these battle images in which the Wavrin Master uses a range of visual techniques to underline how the hero's victory in battle is due to the justness of his cause, is that "right equals might." For example, a very large and imposing Florimont in full military regalia dominates the centre foreground of the image (Figure 2.7) in which he exhorts his troops to fight against the emir of Carthage (p. 306/fol. 216r). His men likewise always occupy more than half of the space in the miniature so as to suggest their upper hand in combat, even in the fiercest of fights, as can be seen in the first campaign against Candiobras where the victorious troops push back the leaders of the opposing forces, who lean away from them, wounded (Figure 2.8). Apart from suggesting that right equals might through having the hero and his men take up a greater amount of space in the scene as they move from left to right, the artist frequently



2.7 Florimont rallies his troops to confront the emir of Carthage. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 216r. Photo BnF.

³³ See, for example, *L'arbre des batailles* by Honorat Bovet, in the English version edited by Coopland 1949, p. 154 (who refers to this author as "Honoré Bonet," a convention which has been superseded in recent decades): "according to God and the scriptures, I may conquer my enemy by craft or fraud without sin, once the war has been ordained and declared and ordered between him and me, and I have given him defiance." On theological and legalistic definitions of just war, see Russell 1975; and for the views of writers of chivalric manuals of warfare, see Whetham 2009.



2.8 Battle between Greeks and Hungarians, with the Greeks dominating the field. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 163v. Photo BnF.



2.9 Florimont's troops force Candiobras's army to retreat into the fortress of Calocastro. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 115v. Photo BnF.

sets up a visual contrast between the symmetry and order that prevail among Florimont's troops, and the disymmetry and disarray that his actions produce among the enemy's men. Thus, in the scene where Florimont has routed Candiobras and forced him to retreat into his fortress at Calocastro (Figure 2.9), the symmetrical alignment of the four horses mounted by the four knights whose bodies and swords turn threateningly round towards the enemy is contrasted with the formless cluster of the Hungarian king's demoralized army whose safety is only assured by the drawbridge being hastily pulled up behind them.

Justice and Mercy

If Florimont is always represented in this manuscript as an upholder of justice in terms of the valor which he brings to his military endeavors, he nonetheless also adheres to another key aspect of this virtue, that of showing mercy. As works in the "mirrors for princes" genre stipulate, the good ruler should avoid the two excesses of utter ruthlessness or total leniency by administering mercy in a manner that is both equitable and flexible, so as to weigh up the wrongs caused by the person asking for pardon and the likelihood of their recidivism.³⁴ That Florimont possesses this virtue in abundance is seen in the fact that, with the exception of the combat with Garganeus who explicitly refuses to ask for mercy, Florimont's wars always end with the hero pardoning his defeated enemies—on condition that they swear homage to the victor.

In the first of his three wars, the young Florimont who has captured Amadas in battle is invited by his uncle, King Medon, to pass judgment on him, and reveals a precocious understanding of justice when he takes account of the remorse displayed by the defeated enemy (p. 192/fols. 54v–55r). In the illustration of this episode (Figure 2.10), Florimont's uncle is the actual judge, his authority being shown by his crown, his cross-legged seated position, and his *bâton de justice* (rod of justice). However he is closely flanked on the left by the young hero in full armor who extends his right hand, palm open, to the contrite-looking prisoners on their knees, thus signaling that it is his sentence that his uncle is carrying out.

In his dealings with the emir of Carthage who proves to be a far more recalcitrant opponent than Amadas, the victorious Florimont is at once merciful and implacable, demanding that the emir recognize the injustice of his having waged war on him in revenge for the killing of Garganeus (an act which the hero himself justifies as legitimate tyrannicide),³⁵ and refusing

³⁴ See, for example, *Le Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, in Collet 1999, p. 160, which cites the example of Pompey as saying that "c'estoit aussi belle chose en .I. roy pardouner comme punir" [it is just as good for a king to pardon as it is for him to punish].

³⁵ See pp. 309–10/fols. 222v–223r. On tyrannicide in medieval political thought, see Quillet 1984. On the visual treatment of the theme of tyrannicide, see Chapter 1, this volume.

2.10 Carrying out Florimont's sentence, Medon forces the defeated Amadas to do homage to him. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 55r. Photo BnF.



all offers of a ransom as an acceptable alternative to homage. The emir's anguish at being forced into this subordinate position is clearly visible in the miniature (Figure 2.11), in which the dominant and fully armed Florimont embraces a visibly recoiling emir,³⁶ while his men make similarly distressed gestures with the splayed fingers of their right hands and their backwards-leaning posture.

2.11 Florimont pardons the emir of Carthage. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 224r. Photo BnF.



³⁶ See p. 311/fol. 225r. This excessive anger, is of course, one of the classic characteristics of the tyrant: see *Le Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, in Collet 1999, p. 164, which cites Seneca as stating: "Se tu ne puez vaincre ire, elle te vaincra" [If you cannot conquer anger, it will conquer you].



2.12 Florimont makes peace with Candiobras, who becomes one of his main allies. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 180r. Photo BnF.

However, a very different relationship between Florimont as bestower of mercy and Candiobras as recipient of it occurs in the scene (Figure 2.12) where the hero, in his role as king of Macedon, treats as an equal his defeated prisoner who has become a reformed character, both of them being arrayed in state with crowns and rich brocaded robes. Florimont embraces King Candiobras who has pledged undying loyalty to him as his vassal and ally in his future military campaigns, and whom he has showered with gifts and exempted from having to produce a ransom. Florimont shows an astuteness, courtesy, and *largesse* which cause those present at this event to marvel at his sense of justice (p. 282/ fol. 179v).

Justice Through Largesse

This portrayal in the prose *Florimont* of *largesse* as an instrument of justice rather than simply as a virtue which the good prince must possess marks a significant shift from the discussion of this attribute in the verse original. In both versions of the text, the hero conforms to the desired norm of liberality in always making a point of giving away the spoils of his victories to either his fellow knights, his companions, or his lord.³⁷ However, it is only in the prose redaction that *largesse* is so clearly linked to the notion of distributive justice in the sense of rendering to each his due as defined

³⁷ See, for example, how the hero divides up the spoils of war, including the wealthy nobles whom he has taken prisoner, after winning the first part of the campaign against Candiobras: vv. 6955–7094 and pp. 238–9/fols. 118r–118v.

2.13 Florimont rewards his faithful ally Candiobras with marriage and wealth. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 230r. Photo BnF.



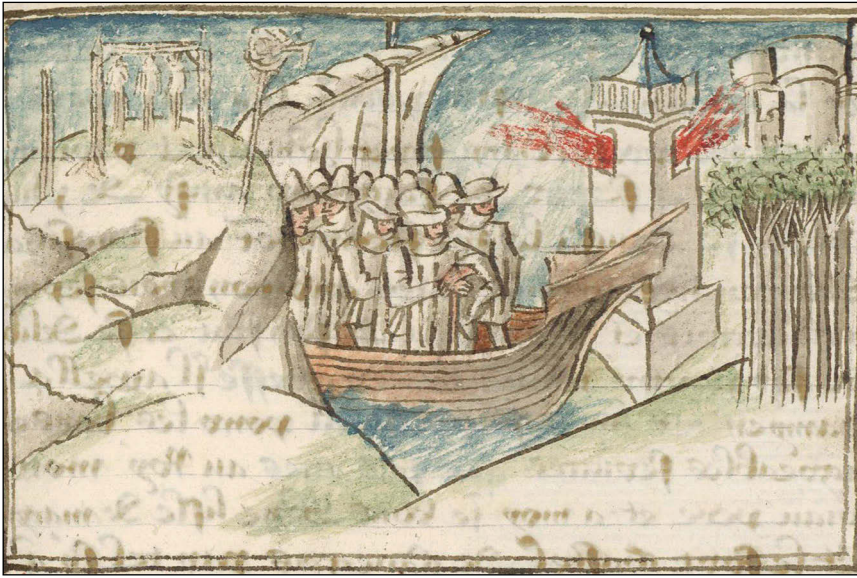
by his place within the social hierarchy.³⁸ Here Florimont gives more than generous rewards to all those who have served him in his campaigns. For instance, he grants the hand in marriage of the widowed queen of Carthage and all the wealth of the castle of Clavegris to Candiobras himself (Figure 2.13). The visual link between *largesse* and justice is firmly established by the hero's cross-legged judge-like pose as he joins the couple's two hands together.

Justice and Peace

Yet, as the concluding chapters of the prose version make clear, and at much greater length than in the verse original, the just ruler does not simply undertake legitimate wars that are concluded with acts of clemency and subjugation. Rather, his ultimate goal is to defend the law in his own domains so as to allow his people to conduct their business in peace, all in accordance with the advice delivered by moralists in their more overtly didactic works.³⁹ Florimont thus respects but also reforms as necessary the laws and customs of the people of Carthage once this land falls into his power (p. 313/fol. 228r). Back in Greece, he is an indefatigable upholder of justice who is prepared both to crush his enemies should they attack his country and to persecute all those in his own lands who fail to respect the

³⁸ See Krynen 1981, pp. 184–99; and Rigby 2009, pp. 39–41.

³⁹ See Krynen 1981, p. 184: “paix et justice forment les deux piliers d’un même édifice et sont associées solidairement dans la définition de la fonction royale” [peace and justice form two pillars of the same edifice and are inextricably linked in the definition of the role of the ruler]. See also Nederman 2007.



2.14 Florimont sails back to Salonica, with a gibbet and wheel visible to one side of the harbour. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 240r. Photo BnF.

law. The end result of all these actions is that Florimont brings peace and prosperity to his subjects whose love he thereby earns (p. 325/fol. 247r).⁴⁰

Two important images in consecutive chapters towards the end of the text use visual elements that are not explicitly mentioned in the narrative as a way of illustrating this connection between justice and peace. The first (Figure 2.14) shows Florimont arriving back in Salonica after having left his mother and father in charge of Carthage. The hero's ship enters the port with its massive lighthouse on one side, passing a gibbet replete with hanging bodies and a wheel on the cliff top on the other side of the harbor. As Barbara Morel has convincingly argued,⁴¹ these elements suggest the robust means by which justice is maintained in these lands held first by Philip and then, after him, by Florimont. In the subsequent image (Figure 2.15), as the hero departs for Philippopolis where he will make his permanent home, he rides through a landscape featuring a windmill, a miller leading his mule, and a dog. Far from being merely anecdotal,⁴² these details show how the peace and prosperity resulting from the ruler's commitment to justice enable the common people, such as a miller, to carry on their normal pursuits unmolested by warfare or invasion.

⁴⁰ Florimont attains the reputation of the good ruler as defined by moralists such as Aquinas who states, in *On Princely Government*, in Entrèves 1948, p. 57: "Good kings ... who dedicate themselves with all care to the common weal and who by their efforts bring their subjects to enjoy greater prosperity, are loved by most of their subjects in return for the love they have shown them."

⁴¹ See Morel 2007, pp. 242–3.

⁴² See Sherman 1995, p. 196, on the traditional iconographical difference between good and bad government as seen in the frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, where bad government is given as a scene of warfare and good government by a tranquil scene of plowing.



2.15 Florimont passes through a peaceful landscape as he heads back to Philippopolis to rejoin his wife and court. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 242r. Photo BnF.



2.16 Florimont as a proto-Burgundian prince in his collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. *Roman de Florimont*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12566, fol. 242r, detail. Photo BnF.

Conclusion

A highly significant and hitherto unnoticed aspect of this last image (Figure 2.16) neatly sums up the way in which the prose *Florimont* served as one of what Jan Veenstra has called the many “‘accommodating narratives’ [that were] especially tailored to fit Burgundian size.”⁴³ The artist’s completely anachronistic depiction of Florimont wearing a collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece which Philip the Good established in 1430 underlines the hero’s intended status as a model of the just ruler for the Burgundian dukes. Being the son of a duke who ends up a king, using both marriage and military conquest to gain a vast domain spread over many lands, Florimont, like his own grandson, Alexander the Great, is co-opted as an ancestor of the Burgundians in a tale which no doubt flattered its noble readers’ vanity and stoked their political ambitions. By both textual and visual means, this manuscript of the prose *Florimont* thus situates its narrative of power, rulership, and territorial expansion under the sign of justice and virtue, thereby translating into fictional form the well-worked precepts of “mirrors for princes.” In so doing, the tale takes its place in a lively tradition of imaginative writings in prose that proved to be such an important vehicle for the construction and promotion of ducal ideology at the court of Valois Burgundy.

⁴³ Veenstra 2006, p. 202. See also Wrisley 2006.

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The Just Captain in the *Jouvencel* by Jean de Bueil

Michelle Szkilnik

Résumé français: *Composé par Jean de Bueil entre 1460 et 1468, Le Jouvencel reflète les interrogations sur la guerre et le rôle des gens d'armes qui agitent la société et les intellectuels dans une France éprouvée par le long conflit avec l'Angleterre et les troubles civils entre Armagnacs et Bourguignons. Si Jean de Bueil, en homme de guerre, fait l'apologie du métier de soldat, il entend définir un modèle de comportement pour ceux qui s'engagent dans la carrière militaire. Il dessine ainsi la silhouette du parfait capitaine capable à la fois de mener la guerre de manière efficace et d'exercer la justice. Le Jouvencel a connu un beau succès comme l'attestent les 16 copies conservées dont neuf, produites entre 1475 et 1530 environ, ont été somptueusement enluminées. L'examen des programmes iconographiques montrent comment se module, selon l'époque et selon le commanditaire du manuscrit, la figure du capitaine, dont l'une ou l'autre des prérogatives, conduite de la guerre ou exercice de la justice, est privilégiée tour à tour dans les enluminures.*

"Il doit avoir gens pour la justice et hommes pour la guerre." [There must be people for justice and men for war.] (2:14).¹ So claims the hero of the *Jouvencel* after being named lieutenant to his king² in the midst of a kingdom at war.

Thanks to Paraska Tolan for providing a first draft of the English version of my chapter.

¹ All quotations are taken from the only current edition of the text, Lecestre 1887–89. The text of the *Jouvencel* was edited by Lecestre, and introduced by Favre who provided a long historical chapter. I am currently preparing a new edition, to be published by Champion (Classiques Français du Moyen Âge). For the sake of brevity, parenthetical reference to this two-volume edition is given in the body of this chapter as volume number followed by page number (for example, 1:20). Translations are mine.

² Although one might assume that the kingdom mentioned is France, Jean de Bueil does not explicitly state that it is. This is part of his strategy to maintain the fictional dimension of the *Jouvencel*'s career. Only once, in part III, before the text of King Philip the Fair's ordinance on duels, does he mention the king of France: "Et, durant ce temps, le roy de France lui envoya et au Regent son filz ung advisement touchant les gaiges des batailles" [At that time, the king of France sent to him and to his son the regent (i.e. the *Jouvencel*) a set of rules about judicial duels] (2:223).

In fifteenth-century France, the rights of men at arms and their relationship with power and justice was a hotly debated topic. In a country devastated by decades of civil and foreign war, controlled in parts by the English army, a country where the king's legitimacy was contested, where military leaders assumed the right to pillage and kill, most writers could not but ponder the political role and judicial authority of knights in such troubled times. Philippe de Mézières, Honorat Bovet, Christine de Pizan, and Alain Chartier all questioned the social responsibilities of men of arms in order to prescribe, or at least to recommend, the correct behavior for such an important segment of society.³ Composed in the 1460s, the *Jouvencel* inscribes itself in this literary tradition. At first glance less prescriptive than the works of these more overtly moralizing writers, it constitutes, according to the prologue, "un petit traictié narratif" [a short narrative treatise] (1:15), written to give heart to those who want to pursue a military career. It is a manual of war, presented in an entertaining style, in order to render the lessons more attractive and to facilitate the training of recruits.⁴ The author, Jean de Bueil,⁵ is a former marshal of France who wants to share his experience of warfare and therefore creates the fictional character of the Jouvencel. The narrative follows the young man from his initial, and modest, ventures, up to his marriage with the daughter of King Amidas and his nomination to the rank of regent of the kingdom of Amidoine. A mixture of personal memories, fiction, and actual military features of the fifteenth century, the *Jouvencel* is a hybrid work that has triggered many different readings: the first editors of the text, who based their views on the commentary provided later by Guillaume Tringant, a squire of Jean de Bueil,⁶ considered it a thinly veiled autobiography, while Louis Aragon, in *La Mise à mort*, sees it as one of the first realist novels.

Whatever interpretation we give to the text, for the author himself the didactic dimension of the book is evidently the most important aspect. Divided into three parts of unequal length, the *Jouvencel* examines first how the protagonist acquires a certain fame thanks to his audacity. His companions, adopting the nickname first used by the captain of Crathor, decide to baptize the young man "Jouvencel"⁷ and advise him to flee the court and to dedicate himself to the pursuit of war. The second part, longer than the other two parts put together, follows the progression of the Jouvencel, whose leadership qualities become more and more prominent throughout the text. Thanks to his "soutillité" [sagacity], a necessary virtue for a warrior, as well as his

³ See Blanchard and Mühlethaler 2002.

⁴ On the necessity of dramatizing a lesson so as to render it more effective, see Chapter 2, this volume.

⁵ On the highly complex question of who wrote the *Jouvencel*, see Szkilnik 2011.

⁶ Tringant's commentary, which appears in five manuscripts out of the 16, offers a decoding of the text read as a *roman-à-clef*.

⁷ See the short dialogue at the end of chapter 4: "Puisque Jouvencel l'avez nommé, desormais n'aura autre nom" [Since you named him Jouvencel, no longer will he have any other name] (1:38).

courage, and his natural authority, his companions quickly appoint him “leur chief et gouverneur” [their head and leader] (1:100) on the recommendation of the captain of Crathor who feels too old to conduct the war, but who continues to support the Jouvencel and offer him advice. The Jouvencel strongly resembles the ideal *connestable* that Christine de Pizan, following Vegetius, recommends electing in chapter 7 of her *Livre des faits d’armes et de chevalerie*.⁸ The military successes of the Jouvencel win him the respect and trust of the count of Parvanchières, whom the king⁹ had sent to rescue the city of Crathor. When the count returns to court, he designates the Jouvencel as his lieutenant, a title that will later be confirmed by the king. At the end of the second part, the Jouvencel, who has given the king complete satisfaction, is sent with his troops to the rescue of King Amidas of Amidoine. The third part narrates how, in Amidoine, the Jouvencel attains the height of honor, winning the regency of the kingdom and marrying the king’s daughter. Thanks to the Jouvencel’s help, Amidas quashes the rebellion that was jeopardizing his rule and reaffirms his authority in his country.¹⁰

The Jouvencel attains power in a legitimate way, through his deeds of war and his aptitude as a military leader; he does not gain control of a kingdom through force, rather power is given to him in recognition of the eminent virtues that he has demonstrated on the battlefield. His social success illustrates what an old companion of his had declared to him when trying to deter him from going to court: “Toute empire et toute seigneurie a prins son commencement de guerre” [Every empire and every lordship started with a war] (1:50–51). With such honors come great obligations and the Jouvencel must now enforce discipline among his numerous troops. He thus has to exert the judicial powers delegated to him by the count of Parvanchières. He takes on the role of a judge mainly in the second part of the treatise, when he is the only one in charge of the army.¹¹ This new task prompts him to reflect on the necessary balance between his various roles: making war, rendering justice, and governing a territory.

The question of the status, power, and responsibilities of the warrior runs throughout the entire text. Respectful of the existing social order, the Jouvencel does not favor military coups. On the contrary, he sets clear limits and curbs

⁸ The only modern edition of Christine’s *Livre des faits d’armes et de chevalerie* is Laennec 1988, which remains unpublished. Several manuscripts (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1183; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 23997) and Vêrard’s printed edition of 1488 (*L’Art de Chevalerie selon Vêgèce*) are available on the BnF’s Gallica website. There also exists an English translation of the text (Willard 1999), which is based on Brussels, BR, Ms. 10476.

⁹ See n. 2. Although the description of the siege of Crathor and how it was raised thanks to the troops sent by the king calls to mind the siege of Orléans, Jean de Bueil does not explicitly make the connection between the historical and the fictional events. See Michaud-Fréjaville 2005.

¹⁰ By helping King Amidas regain his legitimate authority, the Jouvencel displays virtues that make him a good and just ruler. On the qualities required of the ideal ruler, see Chapter 2, this volume.

¹¹ In the third part, he shares authority with King Amidas.

on the powers of his soldiers. If war is the source of all moral honors, the resulting material benefits are conferred by kings or princes, who recognize the courage and the grandeur of warriors and reward them in consequence. The text goes so far as to preach self-effacement: forgotten or spurned, the great captain must accept the verdict of his prince and stand aside, ready to serve his lord when needed again.

The *Jouvencel* is preserved, in its entirety or in fragments, in 16 manuscripts, nine of which are beautifully illustrated.¹² This abundance suggests the interest that the text aroused. The manuscripts can be roughly divided into two groups: the first one comprising 12 exemplars, and the second, four, all of which are illuminated.¹³ The illustrated manuscripts all date from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, except one copied around 1530. Some were created for famous bibliophiles: Jacques d'Armagnac, Louis of Bruges, and Philip of Cleves. The iconography reflects, in various ways, the double dimension of the role assigned to the captain: his military activity on the one hand, and his role as commander, on the other. While many miniatures show the Jouvencel fighting in the midst of battles or sieges, others depict him in his governing capacity. It is these roles that will be the focus of our attention here. Two key moments in the Jouvencel's career have attracted the illuminators' interest: his appointment as lieutenant to the king, and his display of mercy towards prisoners. We will see that the very different takes on the subject in the various manuscripts suggest divergent conceptions about the role and status of the Jouvencel as a captain.

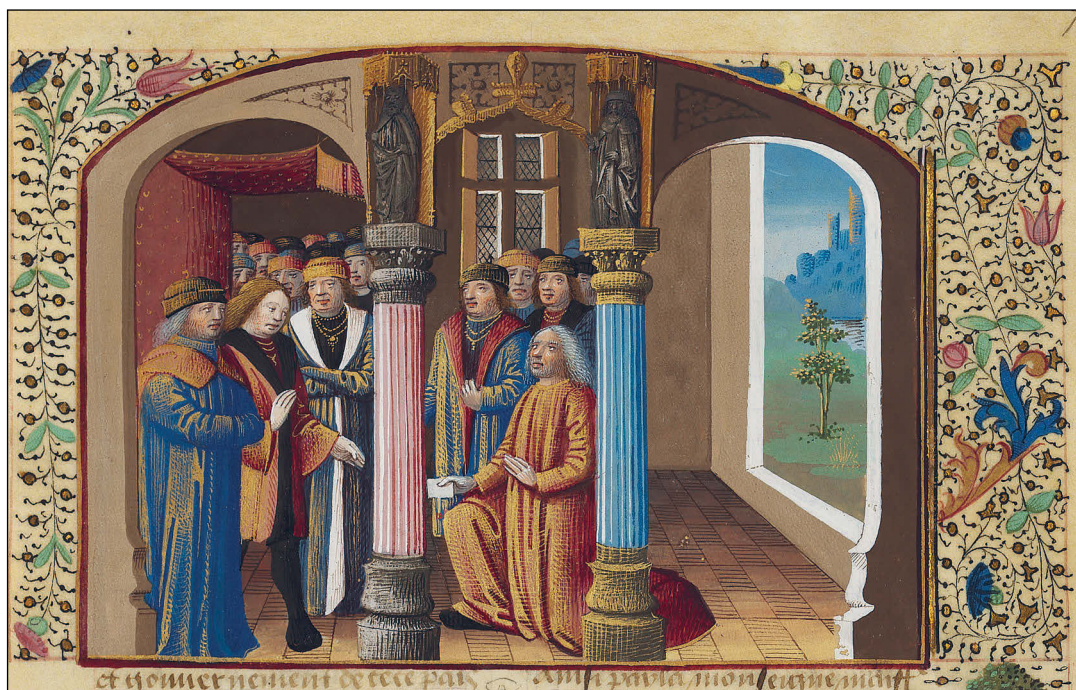
Staging Power and Authority: The Jouvencel as a Lieutenant

The Jouvencel's nomination as lieutenant to the king is pronounced by the count of Parvanchières and confirmed by three envoys, who come bearing official letters sent by the king and who instruct the Jouvencel on his new responsibilities as lieutenant. Seven out of the nine manuscripts illustrate this scene, which was evidently considered a crucial episode in the Jouvencel's story. The scene is represented in three different ways.

In the first type of representation, the ambassadors, invested with royal authority, are depicted as majestic while the Jouvencel is kneeling in a posture of humility, conscious of the honor being conferred on him. In accordance with the text, which explains that, on their arrival, the ambassadors order the Jouvencel to gather churchmen and captains of the city, because "ilz lui vouloient baillier ces lettres et parler à lui en la presence de tous" [They wished to give him the letters and address him in the presence of everyone] (2:23),

¹² See the list in the Appendix.

¹³ Since most of the manuscripts were produced in a very short period of time, probably between 1474 and 1486, it is difficult to decide which group represents the earlier version of the text. My hypothesis, at this stage of my research, is that the better represented family is also the older one.



the Jouvencel is surrounded by a large crowd. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24380, a manuscript belonging to Jacques d'Armagnac and probably illuminated by Evrard d'Espinques around 1475,¹⁴ depicts an indoor scene (Figure 3.1). To the right, the Jouvencel is kneeling in front of the ambassadors. Simply dressed, he holds the letter he has just received. The three ambassadors are richly clad in beautiful lined coats; one is a knight, while the others wear ecclesiastical robes and small flat hats. The Jouvencel and the knight are bare-headed and their hair is loose. The attention of the audience is focused on the ambassadors, who themselves are looking at the Jouvencel. One of the envoys has crossed his arms, the second has his hands tucked in his sleeves,¹⁵ while the knight is gesturing at the Jouvencel, perhaps speaking about the contents of the letter. This miniature can be related to two other scenes depicted in this manuscript: the Jouvencel being elected captain of Crathor¹⁶ and the king of France sending the Jouvencel to wage war on behalf of King Amidas.¹⁷

3.1 The Jouvencel made lieutenant to the king. Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24380, fol. 72r. Photo BnF.

¹⁴ On the ownership of this manuscript, which bears the arms of Jean du Mas, but was very likely made for Jacques d'Armagnac, see Blackmann 1993, vol. 1, p. 114 onwards; Avril and Reynaud 1993; and Mérindol 1996.

¹⁵ Blackmann sees in this gesture Jean Fouquet's influence on Evrard d'Espinques: she mentions the "portly male figures who stand with arms crossed or hands in sleeves" (Blackmann 1993, vol. 1, p. 115).

¹⁶ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24380, fol. 25r: for this image, see the BnF's Mandragore website; the whole manuscript can be viewed on Gallica.

¹⁷ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24380, fol. 112v. This scene is also depicted in Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 187 and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24381 (this latter manuscript can be viewed on Gallica).



3.2 The Jouvencel made lieutenant to the king. Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel*, Madrid, Escorial, Ms. S.II. 16, fol. 108v. Photo Escorial.

The first of these two scenes takes place outside, yet the positions are similar: the Jouvencel is kneeling to the right in front of the captain, under the watchful gaze of the assembled soldiers. In the second image, the hero adopts the same respectful posture. In all three scenes, then, the Jouvencel is kneeling as he receives his new responsibilities with all humility, while being at the center of the images and therefore signaled to the attention of the readers.

In Madrid, Escorial, Ms. S.II. 16 and Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg, Ms. 137, two closely related manuscripts with an almost identical iconographic program,¹⁸ the depiction of the scene of the Jouvencel's investiture as lieutenant is very similar to that of Jacques d'Armagnac's manuscript: the Jouvencel, kneeling, receives his new authority from the three envoys (Figure 3.2).¹⁹ The solemn ambassadors are in the center, sitting on a stage, while the Jouvencel is to the left of the image. The majestic appearance of the ambassadors is reinforced by the columns behind them which form a sort of canopy. It is also an indoor scene, yet open to the world thanks to the large bay windows that reveal a picturesque landscape of rolling hills. In the middle of the stage stands the lord of Chamblay, to the right Master Nicole, his finger pointing to the letter imprinted with the king's seal. All eyes are turned towards him. The presentation of the letter is observed by numerous attentive spectators amongst whom we distinguish, concurrently with the text, men of religion and warriors and even some dogs in the Escorial manuscript. The Jouvencel is in military garb. The letter and its seal, symbols of royal authority, are right at the center of the composition. This representation echoes the scene in which the Jouvencel brings his letters patent to King Amidas, where we see him on his knees in front of the king, the queen, and their daughter, lifting his hat and respectfully holding out the letters to the sovereign.²⁰

London, BL, Ms. Royal 16. F. I presents a second version of the scene of investiture (Figure 3.3) in which the relationship between the envoys of the king and the Jouvencel seems more balanced: all the protagonists are standing and, while the letter is still at the center of the image, the Jouvencel receives it in a way that places less emphasis on his humble status. The miniature is divided into two sections: on the left, the king gives the letter to his ambassadors; on the right they deliver it to the Jouvencel. In both cases, the giver is on the left and his gestures indicate his position of authority. The receiver, on the right, listens, head bowed, hand on heart, with an air of humility. The sealed letter is in evidence; on the left it is open, on the right, closed. The symmetry of the depiction puts the ambassadors and the Jouvencel on a more equal footing.

¹⁸ The Escorial manuscript might have been partly copied from the Wolfenbüttel manuscript. The main body of the text and three miniatures are almost identical. However, Escorial includes Tringant's commentary and a slightly different table of contents. The transcriber must have had access to another manuscript as well. Tringant's commentary may also have circulated independently from the text of the *Jouvencel*. The Wolfenbüttel manuscript was illustrated by Jean Fouquet.

¹⁹ Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg, Ms. 137, fol. 88v.

²⁰ Madrid, Escorial, Ms. S.II. 16, fol. 185v; and Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg, Ms. 137, fol. 148v.



3.3 The Jouvencel made lieutenant to the king. Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 16. F. I., fol. 132r. © The British Library Board. Photo British Library.

The twin manuscripts Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Gall. 9, the former made for Louis of Bruges and the latter probably for Philip of Cleves,²¹ depict an outdoor scene (Figure 3.4):²² the Jouvencel receives the letter from the three ambassadors in front of the fortress at the moment of their arrival, in contradiction with the text. While the text does not explicitly stipulate that the scene takes place inside, it was probably what Jean de Bueil had in mind. The choice of an outdoor scene takes away much of the majesty of the episode and shows that the illustrators did not see the delivery of the letters as a solemn ceremony. The Jouvencel is about to take the letter from the hands of the first envoy.²³ The second ambassador, with his hands folded, is probably the lord of Chamblay, since he seems dressed as a knight. As for the third ambassador, in religious garb, with his hood and his little side purse, he raises his hands as if to direct attention to the speeches that will follow. Several groups of men are watching and commenting on the scene. This detail points to a certain detachment in contrast with the compliant attention that the public showed towards the ambassadors in the first three manuscripts examined. The characters closest to the Jouvencel are probably his companions. The official party, whose presence at the ceremony had been demanded by the ambassadors, may be the ones represented at the back of the scene, but they do not seem to have been invited to listen to the messengers. Slightly taller than the ambassadors, dressed in a beautiful green and brown coat and an elegant small hat, the Jouvencel wears a calm and benevolent expression on his face, while the little group of ambassadors adopt a respectful pose, as shown by the man delivering the letter who carries his hat in his hand.

The inversion of status that the manuscripts of Louis of Bruges and Philip of Cleves suggest becomes evident in the later manuscript, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2558 (Figure 3.5). This manuscript was probably copied around 1530 in Brittany for Jean de Laval, seigneur de Chateaubriand, whose arms it bears.²⁴ The miniatures, according to Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, belong to the French school that developed around Francis I.²⁵ A protector of artists and book collector, Jean de Laval was very close to Francis I and was governor of Brittany from 1531 to his death in 1543. The Vienna manuscript was therefore produced between 45 and 50 years after all the other manuscripts. In its depiction, the ambassadors introduce themselves humbly to the Jouvencel, who is standing in front of his tent, dressed in war garb, and surrounded by his guards and

²¹ On these two manuscripts and their owners, see Wijsman 2007, pp. 261–4. On Louis of Bruges, see Wijsman 2010, pp. 355–69.

²² Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192, fol. 131r; and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Gall. 9, fol. 101r.

²³ In Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192. In Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Gall. 9, the Jouvencel stands closer to the envoy and takes the letter from his hands.

²⁴ Golden fleurs-de-lis on a red background surrounded by the collar of the Order of Saint Michael. On Jean de Laval, see Hozier et al. 1998, vol. 1, p. 146, no. 184.

²⁵ Pächt and Thoss 1977, pp. 162–6.



3.4 The Jouvencel made lieutenant to the king. Jean de Bueil,
Le Jouvencel, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192, fol. 131r. Photo BnF.



3.5 The Jouvencel made lieutenant to the king. Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2558, fol. 108r. Photo ÖNB.

companions. He receives the nomination while on the battlefield, in his position as commander. Behind him stands a bench which also figures in other miniatures in the manuscript. Impressive with the plume decorating his helmet and his white fur scarf, his hand on his hip, the Jouvencel accepts the letter from the first ambassador who is kneeling in front of him. All eyes are on him, and the ambassadors, holding their hats in their hands, throw fearful looks in his direction.

From Jacques d'Armagnac's manuscript to the Vienna manuscript, we can thus observe a remarkable reversal that indicates a change in status of the captain. While the first manuscripts present him as receiving his promotion with humility, the last manuscript gives him an authority unconfirmed by the text. On the contrary, the *Jouvencel* insists on the prestige of the ambassadors, all three of whom belong to the "Grant Conseil" [high council] (2:23) of the king. The text lends them the role of masters in charge of instructing a young disciple. The humility that the hero displays in the miniatures of Jacques d'Armagnac's manuscript and in the Escorial and Wolfenbüttel codices is thus appropriate. Yet, in the sixteenth century, the captain of an army had to be superior to mere ambassadors. That is why the Vienna miniature shows the Jouvencel in all his majesty. As for the three other manuscripts, copied and illustrated in a very short time-span, the difference in their representation of the captain might more closely reflect their owners' divergent visions of the status of such a role than an actual chronological evolution.²⁶ Very little can be said about the London manuscript since we do not know for whom it was made. It has been suggested that the text was copied by Colard Mansion who also worked for Louis of Bruges, the owner of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192. Both manuscripts would have been produced before 1484, the year of Mansion's death.²⁷ Yet the miniatures seem to have been executed in England and not in Flanders. As for Louis of Bruges, his interest in the *Jouvencel* might have genealogical reasons: in March 1480, his son Jean V married Renée de Bueil, granddaughter of Jean de Bueil. A close counselor to Philip the Good, then to Charles the Bold, and later to Mary of Burgundy who appointed him chamberlain to her son, Philip the Handsome, he became a member of the regency council after Mary's early death and looked after the young Philip. He played a prominent political role in the conflict opposing Maximilian of Habsburg, Mary's husband, and the nobility in Flanders and became involved in the Flemish rebellion, a move that brought him close to the

²⁶ Using the illustrations to date the various manuscripts is difficult as they seem to have all been produced within a ten-year period. The Wolfenbüttel manuscript is very likely to be one of the oldest, either contemporary with or earlier than Jacques d'Armagnac's manuscript. Fouquet died between 1478 and 1481. We do not know when he illustrated the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, but it was probably before the end of the 1470s. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192 might have been copied shortly after 1480. Philip of Cleves' manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Gall. 9) is dated 1486 and was copied from Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192. As for the London manuscript, which maintains the prestige of the ambassadors, we might conjecture that it is earlier than Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192 and the Munich manuscript.

²⁷ See Wijsman 2007, p. 261, n. 63.

king of France who was supporting the Flemish cause. He evidently was a man of war like Jacques d'Armagnac. Yet his political involvement and responsibilities might explain why the miniatures in his manuscript more often portray the Jouvencel as a just ruler than as a great knight. As for Philip of Cleves's manuscript, it was copied from Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192. Hanno Wijsman has suggested that it was a present from the older Louis of Bruges to Philip, his junior by 30 years, with the intent of winning him to the Flemish cause and prompting reconciliation with the king of France. While his father Adolphe of Cleves and Louis of Bruges had both opposed Maximilian, Philip had remained faithful to the emperor.²⁸ Whether reading the *Jouvencel* was enough to produce this change of mind, we do not know. Yet this story was undoubtedly appropriate for a young man of high status called to shoulder important responsibilities.

Exercising Justice: The Jouvencel as a Dispenser of Mercy

Having looked at the scene of the Jouvencel's investiture, I would now like to turn to the way in which he is portrayed exercising justice. While each one of the king's envoys is in charge of a specific lesson, all underline the importance of justice in the exercise of power. The first one to talk, Jehan Bienassis, dedicates all of his speech to this subject. According to the theologian and head of the committee, Master Nicole, who pronounces the introductory words, the king wants Jehan Bienassis to "[parler] le premier pour ce qu'il est homme de justice, et Dieu veult que justice aille devant" [speak first because he is a man of the law and God wants justice to go first] (2:24). Justice is thus a prerogative that God delegates to the king who, in turn, delegates it to his lieutenants. His representatives must thereafter apply it to territories at war. Jehan Bienassis uses the term "justice" in both an abstract and a concrete sense. To his opening declaration, "Justice ne se peult trop louer; car elle est de la propre nature au glorieux Dieu, et la fit et ordonna sur tous royaumes et sur toutes creatures" [One cannot praise justice too much, for it is akin to our glorious God. God created justice and made it rule every kingdom and every creature] (2:26), Jehan Bienassis adds more detailed advice: one must respect the rights of merchants who do business in the region under the Jouvencel's control; the Jouvencel must check the warriors who are quick to do justice themselves, punish the abuses of church people, nobles, and lawyers, and, finally, scrupulously respect safe-conducts granted to enemies. Mixed with this advice, he inserts here and there some moral considerations:

vous devez avoir l'ueil à faire droit à ung chascun, à votre pouvoir, et faire justice au foeble comme au fort et au povre comme au riche, ne avoir faveur ne hayne tant à amy comme à ennemy.

²⁸ Wijsman 2007, p. 264.

[You must ensure with all your power that everyone's rights are upheld, you must do justice to the weak as well as to the powerful, to the poor as well as to the rich, and neither favor nor show hatred to either friend or enemy.] (2:27)

The importance accorded to justice is confirmed in the speech of the second ambassador, the lord of Chamblay, who is in charge of giving good strategic advice, and yet who starts by emphasizing the value of Jehan Bienassis's declaration:

Nous sommes nez soubz justice; nous vivons soubz justice et à la fin nous allons à justice. Et, pour ce, monseigneur maistre Jehan Bienassis l'a bien comparée de la comparoir au très hault Dieu glorieux. Elle vient de luy et sans lui nous ne povons riens.

[We were born under the rule of justice, we live under the rule of justice, at the end, we will undergo justice. Therefore my lord Maistre Jehan Bienassis's comparison was quite appropriate when he compared Justice to the glorious all-mighty God. Justice comes from God and without God we can do nothing.] (2:33)

Despite the seemingly theoretical slant of these declarations, the *Jouvencel* offers mainly a series of specific legal decisions. The text is thus at once narrative and prescriptive in presenting fictional and concrete cases endowed with a paradigmatic value. What primarily interests Jean de Bueil, perhaps even exclusively, is the law of war: the distribution of booty, the status of prisoners, the value of safe-conducts, the right to use torture, and the treatment of civil populations. The hero is, above all, a soldier who only reluctantly accepts power and the legal functions that come with it. No sooner has the Jouvencel been appointed lieutenant than he has to deal with the case of a prisoner, brought into the city of Crathor by the man who captured him, unbeknown to the captain of the place. The question thus arises: does the prisoner belong to the captain because of the captor's failure to inform his leader that he was bringing his prisoner inside the fortress? After a trial during which serious legal arguments are exchanged, the Jouvencel, clearly annoyed, declares:

Ce procès a beaucoup duré. Et, à la verité, je croy que ung homme qui fait l'exploit de la guerre ne doit entendre autre part; car c'est une chose qui se veult tousjours exercer, et cellui qui l'exercite ne doit avoir autre entendement. Pourquoi je dy qu'il doit avoir gens pour la justice et hommes pour la guerre et [ne] doit estre une mesme chose.²⁹ Toutefois, je ne dy pas que ung grant prince ne puisse faire tous deux, car il n'est pas tousjours à l'exercite. Mais, à moy, il me fault faire plus fort: il me fault représenter la personne de monseigneur le conte de Parvanchières; ainsi je suis seigneur. Il me fault faire la justice et, se je n'ay du sens, il m'en fault emprunter, c'est à dire que j'aye bon conseil. Et me fault faire l'exploit de la guerre en personne. Ainsi ce sont trois personnaiges qu'il me fault jouer. Dieu doint que je le sache et puisse bien jouer et faire!

²⁹ The negation, re-established by the nineteenth-century editors, does not appear in any of the original manuscripts.

[This trial has been dragging on. In all truth, I believe that a man who wages war must not be distracted. For war must be continuously practiced and the warrior should not have to think of anything else. This is why I say that there should be people for justice and men for war and they cannot be the same persons. I do not suggest that a high prince could not do both, for he is not always engaged in battles. As for me, however, I must do much more: I must represent my lord the count of Parvanchières. Therefore I am lord. I must render justice and if I am devoid of good sense, I must borrow some, that is to say I must secure good counsel. And I must wage war myself. Therefore I must play three characters at once. God give me the knowledge and power to succeed!] (2:14)

As this speech underscores, the exercise of justice, which the Jouvencel must conduct, arises directly from the practice of war. He later declares: “Je ne veux pas oublier d’aller à la guerre; car de cela me sont venus les autres [pouvoirs]. Se je oublioye la guerre, j’ay grant paour que je ne feisse gueres le seigneur, et feroye peu de jugemens” [I do not want to disregard going to war, for it is through war that the other two powers were bestowed on me. If I disregard war, I am afraid that I would be a poor lord and would render poor justice] (2:15). War being an exceptional situation, it implies a particular type of justice that only warriors can render, or at least only men who understand the conditions of war. The *Jouvencel* does not dwell on the ideal of universal justice. It offers practical thoughts on specific situations in time of war. The way the hero resolves the subject of torture is particularly enlightening in this respect. An enemy archer has been captured and refuses to divulge his fellows’ plans. Some suggest torture in order to make him talk. The Jouvencel, absolutely opposed to the idea, argues that “on ne doit pas contraindre ung homme à faire ne dire ce qu’il sauroit de son party ... Ce n’est pas l’usage de la guerre” [one must not force a man to do or reveal what he knows of his faction. This is not the custom of war] (2:91). This could be read as a statement against torture if not for this caveat: torture would be perfectly acceptable if the man were “ung crimineux ou homme qui autrefois eust fait quelque mauvaistié” [a criminal or a man who in the past had done something wrong] (2:91).

In his speech, the Jouvencel also recommends a separation of military and judicial powers. He first argues that he does not have time to render justice and that he must focus all his energy on war. Still, he implies that the warrior can lack the *sens* [good sense] necessary to render justice and that he must then resort to specialists such as the clerics with whom he works and to whom he “en [a] laissé le pensement” [he entrusted the matter] (2:15). One cannot exactly claim that the Jouvencel advocates judicial independence, since he himself appoints the clerics of his council, but he believes that justice, like war, is a matter for specialists.

How did the illuminators represent this respect for the law as pertaining to the conduct of war? What did they emphasize? Only the manuscripts of the second family devote miniatures to this topic. In contrast to the manuscripts of the first family, which are interested mainly in depicting war scenes, the

manuscripts of the second family seem less concerned with exalting the heroic dimension of the Jouvencel's career than with showing him exercising his responsibilities as lieutenant. This difference is in accordance with the divergence we noticed in the miniatures of the investiture. In the second group of manuscripts, the captain is more of a lord, who admittedly goes to war, but who above all is invested with important powers. In compliance with the text, it is the handling of prisoners that the illuminators chose to depict. They all illustrated the same scene: after the conquest of Francheville, which yielded many prisoners, the Jouvencel decides to ransom only rich knights and sends back poor soldiers, advising them to stay loyal to their king. This choice of episode is significant: the Jouvencel is presented as a just and generous captain who treats his enemies with mercy, according to their rank and therefore their responsibility. He renders justice but goes beyond the quibbles of prior legal cases he had to settle, in order to take a political decision, one which demonstrates his clemency.³⁰

The London manuscript (Figure 3.6) shows the prisoners walking out of a fortress, unarmed, and pleading. Two are barefoot. The first two prisoners seem small compared to the armed men who hold them by the shoulders. One clasps his hands in a supplicating gesture. The Jouvencel, on the right, faces them in armor (a sun adorns his breastplate), holding his sword and flanked by two of his men. All eyes are on him, a sign that the power to make the decision resides with him, even though he seems to remain silent.

In the twin manuscripts of Louis of Bruges and Philip of Cleves (Frontispiece), the Jouvencel is more obviously talking to the prisoners. They are simply dressed in mail and tunics, the outfit of the common soldier, the very same outfit that the Jouvencel sported when he was still only a humble soldier. The Jouvencel's gestures, hands outstretched in peace to the prisoners, and the echoing gesture of the foremost prisoner, pleading for their lives, confirm the clemency of the Jouvencel. His authority is represented by his taller stature. Elegantly dressed, he wears a coat over his armor. He is surrounded by armed men, one of whom is preventing the prisoners from exiting the building on the left. The Jouvencel is wearing a hat, while the prisoners are bare-headed. In the background, one can see the Jouvencel in front of his troops, returning perhaps from the battle where he captured the prisoners. Interestingly, the illuminators, who often illustrate two successive episodes in the same miniature, decided not to highlight the war scene, which they relegated to the background, but rather to stress what ensued after the battle; namely, the Jouvencel's exercise of justice and clemency. These miniatures are very similar to the ones showing the Jouvencel receiving the king's ambassadors: same outdoor décor, same disposition of the protagonists, and same talkative observers. One wonders whether in the scene of the investiture, the illustrators intended to suggest, even more than I have implied, the inferiority of the ambassadors vis-à-vis the Jouvencel.

³⁰ On mercy being a necessary quality of the just ruler, see Chapter 2, this volume.



3.6 The Jouvencel being presented with prisoners. Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel*, London, BL, Royal Ms. 16. F. I., fol. 173v. © The British Library Board. Photo British Library.



3.7 The Jouvencel being presented with prisoners. Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2558, fol. 145r. Photo ÖNB.

Finally, as expected, the Vienna manuscript, dating from around 1530, uses this scene to glorify the hero (Figure 3.7). The Jouvencel speaks to the prisoners, who are in chains on the right and surrounded by soldiers. Heads lowered, they listen humbly to his reprimands. The prisoners' dress suggests that these are not the simple soldiers depicted in the other manuscripts, but rather the nobles whom the Jouvencel is going to ransom. His authority is obvious: with a severe expression, he sits on a high bench with two steps leading to it, one hand on his knee, the other holding a rod (maybe the *bâton de justice*), symbol of his authority. On the left, a man seems to be descending from the stage on which the Jouvencel is sitting. He turns around, worried, hat in hand. He seems too well-dressed to be one of the poor prisoners whom the Jouvencel sends away.

This image echoes another miniature in the same manuscript that also represents the Jouvencel facing a prisoner (Figure 3.8). In his commander's tent, sitting on a bench lower than on the miniature previously discussed (there are no steps), the Jouvencel is talking to an armed soldier, surrounded by two of his men. In the background, to the left, the troops leaving the fortress seem to be prisoners guarded by the Jouvencel's soldiers. On the previous page (fol. 102v), a rubric reads "Comment le Jouvencel et sa compaignie allerent fere une course devant Escallon et detrousserent bien .C. hommes et eulx retournent à Crathor leur remonstra plusieurs belles doctrines de guerre" [How the Jouvencel and his company led a raid before Escallon and defeated at least one hundred men, and how, back in Crathor, he expounded for them many good lessons on war]. The man facing the Jouvencel is perhaps Perruche, a soldier captured during the expedition, whom the Jouvencel knows well and whom he invites to dinner that same night. Perruche, jolly and talkative, regales the company with jokes and accepts with composure his condition of prisoner, demonstrating in this way an essential quality of a good soldier. In this miniature, the Jouvencel seems much less severe and more accessible, his bench being lower, and his gesture, hands outstretched towards Perruche, suggests perhaps the favorable treatment that Perruche is receiving. The Vienna manuscript is the only one to devote two images to the depiction of the Jouvencel confronting prisoners, whereas five other manuscripts³¹ insert here a miniature representing the battle scene in front of Escallon. Vienna thus underlines the authority of the Jouvencel and the legal powers with which he is invested. It is surely no accident that the miniature that represents him in front of Perruche opens chapter 14, of which the first words are, fittingly enough, the Jouvencel's speech about his new obligations and the necessity to divide oneself between war and the exercise of justice.

³¹ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192, fol. 124r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Gall. 9, fol. 97r; Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg, Ms. 137, fol. 125r; Madrid, Escorial, Ms. S.II. 16, fol. 155r; and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24380, fol. 68v.



3.8 The Jouvencel and the prisoner Perruche. Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2558, fol. 103r. Photo ÖNB.

Conclusion

From the first illustrated manuscripts to the last, that of Vienna, the representation of power and of justice can be seen to have evolved in a striking manner. The changes reflect a transformation in the conceptions that the readers of the *Jouvencel*, and no doubt society at large, had of the great captain. The first manuscripts depict the warrior, the brave knight in the arena of battle. The iconographic program of the manuscript of Jacques d'Armagnac beautifully illustrates this image of the Jouvencel. As Christian de Mérindol reminds us: "Jacques d'Armagnac était avant tout un chevalier. Il a pour livre de chevet le *livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* de Raymond Lulle" [Jacques d'Armagnac was above all a knight. On his nightstand he had *The Book of the Order of Chivalry* by Ramon Llull].³² For Jacques, the *Jouvencel* was a similar book, a book exalting knighthood in all its heroic dimension. In his manuscript, the most heavily illustrated in our corpus, 11 miniatures out of 16 represent battle or siege scenes.³³ In addition to the quadripartite frontispiece miniature, which shows the author writing and the Jouvencel coming back from his first three ventures, three others depict the hero humbly accepting a military mission; only the fourth has to do with his judicial functions: it illustrates the joust of an English man against one of the Jouvencel's men, a joust which takes place under the eyes of the Jouvencel. The Escorial and Wolfenbüttel manuscripts, whose addressees are unknown, also seem to celebrate the military career of the Jouvencel and, as in Jacques d'Armagnac's manuscript, the miniatures that do not represent battle or military-related scenes illustrate either the Jouvencel's nomination as lieutenant or regent, or a joust for which he acts as "referee."³⁴ The other manuscripts, on the other hand, highlight the authority of the political hero, and his decision-making power. While the iconographic program of the London manuscript shares certain similarities with the first series of manuscripts,³⁵ the twin manuscripts of Louis of Bruges and Philip of Cleves clearly choose to highlight the lord invested with important powers, which he uses with wisdom and clemency. Out of the nine miniatures that decorate each manuscript, only three depict war episodes.³⁶ The others illustrate scenes in which the Jouvencel demonstrates qualities that make him a good and just captain, potentially the ideal ruler. As

³² Mérindol 1996, p. 410.

³³ All the miniatures can be viewed on the BnF's Mandragore website.

³⁴ Only Escorial. Wolfenbüttel is missing at least three miniatures (see list of manuscripts in the Appendix to this chapter).

³⁵ The subjects of the six miniatures included in the London manuscript are as follows: fol. 9r, the writer writing his treatise (the scene is also illustrated in the manuscript of Jacques d'Armagnac); fol. 41r, a siege scene; fol. 132r, the king's envoys; fol. 173r, the Jouvencel and the prisoners; fol. 221r, the arrival of the Jouvencel in Amidoine: kneeling, he presents his letters patent to the king, the queen, and the young princess (a scene that is also represented in Wolfenbüttel and Escorial); fol. 227r, the Jouvencel leaves for war.

³⁶ In Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192, fols. 36r, 68r, 124r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Gall. 9, fols. 34r, 56v, 97r. The miniatures of the Paris manuscript can be viewed on Mandragore.

we have seen, this choice might be related to the political status of both Louis of Bruges and Philip of Cleves. At the tail end of the iconographic tradition, the Vienna manuscript, which also has nine miniatures, contains only two battle scenes. While the Jouvencel is still depicted in armor and often in his tent, he always appears as a commander-in-chief and not as a soldier. If, indeed, the manuscript was made for Jean de Laval, the high status of this nobleman, governor of Brittany, might account for the majestic portrayal of the hero. In any case, the *Jouvencel* is no longer being read as a book about knighthood, delighting in clever skirmishes, but rather as a manual on the just exercise of power. The text allows for both readings, but, in the space of just 50 years, the readers' interest clearly shifted from one aspect of the treatise to the other.

Appendix

LIST OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF LE JOUVENCEL

FAMILY 1

Illustrated manuscripts:

Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24380: before 1476. The manuscript belonged to Jacques d'Armagnac, 16 miniatures very likely painted by Evrard d'Espinques.

Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg, Ms. 137: fifteenth century (before 1480). Three miniatures executed by Jean Fouquet remain, but originally the manuscript probably included six: three pages are missing.

Madrid, Escorial, Ms. S.II. 16: fifteenth century, ten miniatures. Three out of the ten are almost identical to the ones in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript.

Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 187: fifteenth century, three miniatures, one at the beginning of each part of the text.

Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24381: fifteenth century, three miniatures, one at the beginning of each part. The subjects are identical to the ones in the Geneva manuscript.

Non-illustrated manuscripts:

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3059: fifteenth century, no miniatures, although spaces were set aside for them; base manuscript for the Favre and Lecestre edition.

Gotha, Ms. Membr.1, no. 125: fifteenth–sixteenth century.

Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1611: fragment, dated 1475, the manuscript was copied by Gilet Leclercq for Lyonnet d'Oureille.

Bibliothèque du duc de Bisaccia: sixteenth century. The location of this manuscript is unknown today. It was examined by Favre and Lecestre after being bought by the duke of Bisaccia at the end of the nineteenth century.

Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Ms. 641: fifteenth–sixteenth century.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 2697: copy of the Sorbonne manuscript made in the eighteenth century by La Curne de Sainte-Palaye.

Aix en Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, Ms. 191: fifteenth–sixteenth century.

FAMILY 2 (ALL OF THEM ARE ILLUSTRATED)

Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192: around 1480, copied for Louis of Bruges, nine miniatures.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Gall. 9: copied in 1486 by Jean de Kriekeriborch for Philip of Cleves, nine miniatures. They are almost identical to the ones in Louis of Bruges's manuscript. This manuscript was very likely copied from Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 192.

London, BL, Ms. Royal 16. F. I: fifteenth century (before 1484?), six miniatures. The handwriting seems to be Flemish, but the miniatures more likely English. May have been copied by Colard Mansion.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2558: around 1530, nine miniatures. Very likely made for Jean de Laval, governor of Brittany.

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Reconfiguring Queen Truth in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542 (*Songe du vieil pelerin*)

Kristin Bourassa

Résumé français: *Le Songe du vieil pelerin* (1389) de Philippe de Mézières, un des quatre livres de conseil en langue vernaculaire dédiés au roi Charles VI de France (r. 1380–1422), traite de plusieurs des crises politiques de l'époque et suggère des solutions. Le contenu du texte est étroitement lié au contexte historique du règne de Charles VI, mais sept des huit manuscrits datent des règnes de ses successeurs, Charles VII et Louis XI. Louis de Crussol, le propriétaire de l'un de ces manuscrits (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542), était conseiller du roi Louis XI. Son manuscrit adapte le texte du *Songe du vieil pelerin* à un nouveau public. Les quatorze images du manuscrit, ainsi que sa préface unique, modifient le rôle d'un des personnages principaux, la reine Verité, et certaines des leçons que celle-ci offre au roi Charles VI. Ce nouveau *Songe du vieil pelerin* se veut plus clairement utile à tout bon chrétien, souligne l'importance de conseillers royaux, comme Louis de Crussol, et livre, avec des commentaires sur d'importants changements survenus après le règne de Charles VI dans l'administration de la justice française en particulier, un discours engagé.

Philippe de Mézières's *Songe du vieil pelerin* (1389) is one of four vernacular advice books dedicated to Charles VI of France throughout his reign (1380–1422). As a manual for rulers in the tradition of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, the *Songe* instructs its dedicatee in matters of personal virtue, royal behavior, and good government.¹ It is also an example of the kind of politically engaged writing produced during this period by authors including Christine

¹ The other books dedicated to Charles VI are Honorat Bovet's *L'arbre des batailles* (1389), Christine de Pizan's *Chemin de long estude* (1402), and Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues* (1409 and 1413–15). This study forms part of a PhD thesis on these texts (Bourassa 2014). The *Songe du vieil pelerin* was edited in 1969 based on the manuscript discussed here, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542 (Coopland 1969). For the sake of brevity, parenthetical reference to this two-volume edition is given in the body of this chapter as volume number followed by page number (for example, 1:233). A new edition is currently being prepared by Joël Blanchard and others based on Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 2682/3 (Blanchard 2008, p. 52). On the "mirrors for princes" tradition, see also Chapter 2, this volume. For Giles of Rome, see Briggs 1999.

de Pizan and Alain Chartier. Writing about current events such as the Anglo-French wars, these authors step in during a time of crisis, appealing to readers to act. A general call for reform of Christian behavior and the government of all Christian realms, the *Songe* is also a more particular call to Charles VI to reform French government, intervene in the papal schism ongoing since 1378, end the war with the English, and initiate a crusade with other Christian kings. Writing in what Jean-Claude Mühlethaler characterizes as “l’urgence du moment” [the urgency of the moment], Philippe de Mézières appeals to his dedicatee to act.²

The proliferation of advice literature during Charles VI’s reign raises the important issue of what role these texts could play after the moment of political urgency had passed. Interest in the *Songe* seems to have extended past its completion date of 1389. Although the text was dedicated to Charles VI and preoccupied with some of the key issues of the early years of his reign, only one manuscript made during his lifetime survives. The other seven date to after the deaths of both Philippe de Mézières (1405) and Charles VI (1422).³ One of these later manuscripts, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542, provides important clues about how such politically engaged texts could be reconfigured for a later audience. Its 14 images and unique four-folio preface repackage the *Songe*’s lessons to Charles VI and descriptions of his obligations as a just ruler for a different historical moment.

Queen Truth in the *Songe du vieil pelerin*

The dedication of the *Songe* to Charles VI in 1389 came at a significant point in his reign. Although Charles was crowned king at the age of 11, the government of France had been largely left to the king’s uncles until he took control in 1388.⁴ Philippe de Mézières’s dedication recognized that the king was now able to act personally on his recommendations. The author reminds Charles that he is no longer under tutelage, and that the government of France belongs solely to him (2:131). He also promotes some of the policies of the Marmousets, a group of advisors newly returned to influence at the outset of Charles’s personal rule. Their policies, which are also advocated in the *Songe*, included the preservation of royal finances and the king’s *domaine*, and avoidance of open battle against the English.⁵ The

² Mühlethaler 2006, p. 19. See also Chapter 1, this volume, as well as Green 1980, pp. 135–42; Krynen 1981, pp. 56–7; Jónsson 1987; Gauvard 1995, pp. 106–11; Ferster 1996, pp. 4–7, 9–10; Hanly 1997, pp. 279–80; Nederman 1998; Jónsson 2006; Hobbins 2009, pp. 2–9, 217; and Devaux 2010.

³ For a list of manuscripts, see the Appendix to this chapter, below.

⁴ Famiglietti 1986, p. xi; Demurger 1990, pp. 66–70, 81–5, 313–20; and Small 2009, pp. 127–9, 132–3.

⁵ Valois 1888, pp. 75–6; Jorga 1896, pp. 423, 439; Coopland 1969, vol. 1, pp. 397–400, 458; vol. 2, pp. 359–60, 371, 373–7; Autrand 1986, pp. 190–199; Henneman 1996, pp. 137–8, 158–9; Hanly 1997, p. 278; and Small 2009, p. 132.

text's criticism of the French legal system and of the Parlement also reflected contemporary arguments against the increasing professionalization of French justice.⁶

The *Songe* unfolds as an allegorical dream vision in a prologue and three books. "Providence Divine" [Divine Providence] visits the author in a dream, telling him that "Charité" [Charity], "Sapience" [Wisdom], and "Verité" [Truth] have abandoned the world because their moral coinage was refused by Christian people (1:91–2). They will not return unless requested to do so. Divine Providence renames him "Ardant Desir" [Ardent Desire], provides him with a sister, "Bonne Esperance" [Good Hope], and sends them both off to find the virtues (1:94). They convince Queen Truth to give the world a second chance (1:207–9). They then lead her, accompanied by ladies "Paix" [Peace], "Misericorde" [Mercy], and Justice, on a world journey in search of a realm worthy of their presence. In Book I, they investigate at least 25 different places, from Nubia to Scotland. In 11 of these, Queen Truth establishes a formal court to conduct her investigation. Books II and III take place in the twelfth court, in Paris. In Book II, Queen Truth examines the inhabitants of France. In Book III, she speaks directly to the king, teaching him through a series of three metaphors. He is addressed as both Moses and a chariot driver before being offered an allegorical chessboard, which is used as an organizational tool for further lessons. Queen Truth offers the king at least 78 different instructions, on subjects ranging from his sleep habits to taxation reform and the need to make peace with England (2:207, 2:373–6, 2:392). Ultimately disappointed by each realm she has visited, Queen Truth departs, leaving behind representatives to promote reform. She gives gifts to Charles VI to help him remember and apply her lessons (2:478–80).

Charles VI has two roles in the *Songe*: he is the text's primary intended reader, and a character within the narrative. Accordingly, he is presented as the key figure in its reform program. Without his intervention, none of the author's plans can come to fruition. At the beginning of Book III, Ardent Desire reminds Queen Truth that Charles VI in particular can alleviate the tribulations of the world (1:115–16). In urging the king to end the war with England, Queen Truth stresses the circumstances unique to his reign: while England and France have a history of conflict, it was perpetuated by the predecessors of these two young kings. Now would be the perfect time for them to meet in person and make peace (1:401; 2:373–6).⁷ Immersed in the political concerns of the time, the *Songe* implores Charles VI to take responsibility and remedy problems in government.

One of the primary ways in which the text communicates its messages is through the framework of formal courts, referred to as consistories or

⁶ Krynen 1989, pp. 338–44.

⁷ This conveniently disregards Charles VI's failed attempts to take the war to English soil in 1385–87, although it is referred to elsewhere in the *Songe* (Coopland 1969, vol. 2, p. 437; and Small 2009, p. 136).

Parlements, that Queen Truth establishes in her search for a realm worthy of her coinage.⁸ This judicial framework is used to present political arguments, invoking contemporary ideals of kingship as inextricably linked to justice, in particular as enacted by the French Parlement. These scenes all follow the same pattern. In Prussia, for example, Queen Truth and her female companions are received by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, which, by 1389, had been involved in the conversion of Prussia for over 150 years (1:237).⁹ Queen Truth sits in an armchair, with Peace, Mercy, and Justice seated nearby and their attendants placed on rugs on the floor (1:238). Queen Truth asks her companions to assist her in examining the coinage of the region in order to determine whether or not the residents are good Christians (1:239). They consider three kinds of coins, corresponding to the members of the Teutonic Order, the local elite, and recently converted Prussians (1:239). After Peace, Mercy, and Justice advise her, Queen Truth concludes that the newly converted Prussians are not yet fully Christian. Her companions confirm her decision (1:240, 246–7).

Similar courts are held in Prague, Venice, Naples, Rome, Genoa, Avignon, Barcelona, Burgos, London, Scotland, and Paris. Like the Prussian court, these are used as the framework for communicating key messages. The ongoing papal schism receives special attention in 37 of Book I's 80 chapters. The Romans are blamed for creating the schism through their insistence on the election of an Italian pope (1:270–275). In Avignon and Genoa, Clement VII and Urban VI are criticized for fighting over the chair of St Peter (1:288–9, 354–6).¹⁰ Likewise, the court in London addresses Richard II's obligation to make peace with France (1:397–402), while the Parisian Parlement in Books II and III suggests reforms for Charles VI and all of France.

In using this judicial framework to communicate with the king, the author also highlights the importance of just kingship. Queen Truth presides personally over the court, examines the available evidence, and consults with her counselors, providing a model of royal justice for the book's imagined reader, Charles VI. She herself exhibits the qualities she exhorts him to display in Book III. Her role is pedagogical as well as judicial. Although taking place within the Parlement that Queen Truth establishes in Paris, Book III is explicitly about the instruction of the king (2:115). Here, she informs Charles that he must be personally involved in justice, and that he must heed good counsel (2:148–9, 320, 326–30). It is his responsibility to ensure that his subjects have access to justice, especially considering the high taxes they pay (2:322). He is the final secular authority in his realm and his decisions cannot be appealed (2:325).¹¹

⁸ See for example Coopland 1969, vol. 1, pp. 96, 254, 262, 274, 395–403.

⁹ Sarnowsky 2006, vol. 3, pp. 988, 991, 993. Philippe de Mézières may have visited Prussia, most likely sometime before 1365 (Coopland 1969, vol. 1, pp. 126, n. 1, 127).

¹⁰ Blumenfeld-Kosinski 2006, pp. 97–121.

¹¹ Krynen 1993, pp. 384–414.

In her pedagogical and judicial roles, Queen Truth calls to mind contemporary ideals of just kingship. Justice was considered to be the primary duty of a king, and the foundation of the legitimacy of his power.¹² The *Songe* expresses this idea in its description of the marvelous land of the Bragamains. These people have a king “non pas pour faire justice de eulx, car le cas ne si offre pas” [not to provide justice to them, because the case does not present itself] (1:224), but rather to be honored and obeyed. That they have no need for a king as distributor of justice is seen as an exception. The judicial framework of the *Songe* also invokes the French institution of Parlement. The Parisian Parlement, which met at the *palais de la Cité*, was responsible for ensuring the administration of the king’s justice. It consisted of three groups, responsible for hearing pleas, conducting initial inquiries, and considering appeals.¹³ Although the king was not required to be physically present for sessions of Parlement, the institution was still considered an extension of royal justice. The use of a ceremonial canopy over the king’s head during his appearances in Parlement provided a visual reminder of royal justice, and during the reigns of Charles V and Charles VI royal appearances came to be referred to by a specific term, the king’s *lit de justice*.¹⁴ Kings were reminded of the importance of this institution by the participation of *parlementaires* and the staging of Parlement scenes in royal entries into Paris.¹⁵ In Book II of the *Songe*, the *parlementaires* are informed that they must support the king and ensure the sovereign justice of the realm; any error on their part will reflect badly on him (1:472–3, 476). In Book III, Charles VI is reminded that when he appears in Parlement, he must set a good example for its members by rendering justice to all, even princes and barons if necessary (2:322–3).

Queen Truth’s Parisian Parlement offers a model to Charles VI. She enters into “la grande chambre de Parlement” [the great chamber of Parlement] and sits on a throne, accompanied by the three virtues and their attendants (1:446). The archbishops and prelates are to the queen’s right, while the king and the princes of France are to her left (1:446). Queen Truth usurps Charles VI’s place in the court, essentially holding a *lit de justice* and providing an explicit example of the administration of royal justice in his own kingdom. Queen Truth’s role as an instructor and model of just rulership is a key part of the text’s messages.

¹² Krynen 1981, pp. 92–3; Krynen 1989, p. 339; Guenée 2004, p. 211; and Lassabatère 2011, pp. 302–3. For justice in other advice books for Charles VI, see Honorat Bovet’s *Arbre des batailles* (edited in Biu 2004, vol. 2, pp. 646, 866, 869–71); Christine de Pizan’s *Chemin de long estude* (edited in Tarnowski 2000, vv. 3009–66, 5477–6079); and Pierre Salmon’s *Dialogues* (as preserved in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 23279, fol. 13v and Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 165, fol. 15v; see also Hedeman 2001, p. 51).

¹³ Lot and Fawtier 1958; Autrand 1981.

¹⁴ Autrand 1981, pp. 261–7; Hanley 1983, pp. 14–23; E. A. R. Brown and Famiglietti 1994, pp. 20–22, 26–9; and Billoré et al. 2012, pp. 39–41, 89–92, 109.

¹⁵ Bryant 1986, pp. 84–7; Bourassa 2010, p. 26.

Queen Truth in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542

The added preface and pictures of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542 reconfigure this politically engaged text for a different context.¹⁶ The arms in the book have been identified as belonging to Louis de Crussol (d. 1473) and his wife, Jeanne de Lévis, who married in 1452.¹⁷ Whether they commissioned the book or acquired it after its production is unclear, as is the precise date it was made. The arms appear in the border and do not seem to have been added over earlier content, although the spaces could have been initially left blank and filled in later. The preface praises both Charles VII (r. 1422–61) and his constable, Arthur de Richemont (d. 1458), suggesting that it was composed during both of their lifetimes, especially considering the frequent conflict between Charles VII and the future Louis XI (r. 1461–83).¹⁸ Louis de Crussol started his career as squire to the dauphin Louis, and rose to governor of Dauphiné shortly before his death in 1473. He accompanied Louis into exile during his conflicts with Charles VII, and became *grand panetier de France* in charge of the king's pantry, counselor and chamberlain of the king, captain of the *grande ordonnance* or cavalry, the king's representative in Chartres as its *bailli* (1461), seneschal of Poitou (1461–73), and captain of Niort. As Philippe Contamine observes, considering Louis de Crussol's close relationship with Louis XI, it would have been strange for him to commission a manuscript whose text praised Charles VII.¹⁹

Despite the difficulty in establishing a precise date for the manuscript's production, it was certainly made during the reign of either Charles VII or Louis XI, and owned by a key political player under Louis XI. The designer of this manuscript would have had the benefit of hindsight in assessing Charles VI. After his first episode of mental illness in 1392, his reign was punctuated by a series of "absences" during which he was unable to rule.²⁰ Power struggles around the king eventually led to civil war, precipitated by the assassination of Charles's brother, Louis of Orléans, in 1407.²¹ The makers of this manuscript would thus have been aware of Charles's failure to take the *Songe's* advice.

By the time the book was made, the text's advice on at least three major themes was outdated. First, the relationship between French kings and the papacy had changed with both the end of the papal schism in 1417 and the 1438 Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which asserted privileges for the French

¹⁶ The preface is edited in Contamine 2007, pp. 1916–23. For a brief description of the manuscript, see Appendix, below.

¹⁷ His arms appear alone on fols. 1r and 202r, and with those of his wife on fols. 31r and 122r. The reason for the inclusion of a gold star in Louis's arms only once in the manuscript, on fol. 31r, is unclear: see Contamine 2007, p. 1904, n. 17.

¹⁸ Vale 1974, pp. 163–71. For a detailed discussion of Louis XI, see Chapter 6, this volume.

¹⁹ Contamine 1972, pp. 278, 406; Contamine 2007, p. 1905, n. 26.

²⁰ Famiglietti 1986, pp. xi, 2–3; Guenée 2004, pp. 35–41, 200–232.

²¹ Famiglietti 1986, pp. 85–110; Demurger 1990, pp. 89–95; Guenée 2004, pp. 238–47; and Small 2009, pp. 133–46. See also Chapter 1, this volume.

church such as the ability to name bishops. Second, the crusading landscape had also changed after the 1396 defeat of Nicopolis, although individuals such as Joan of Arc and Philip the Good continued to issue calls for crusade. Third, the Treaty of Troyes (1420) made the *Songe's* suggestions for solving the Anglo-French wars obsolete. The treaty disinherited Charles VII in favor of Henry V of England and his heirs. The deaths of both Charles VI and Henry V in 1422 left Charles VII and the infant Henry VI of England as rivals for the French throne. Initially in control of only the area around the Loire valley, by 1453 Charles VII had regained all but Calais.²² The *Songe's* exhortations to Charles VI to end the schism, make peace with Richard II, and embark on a crusade no longer applied.

In shifting focus from Charles VI, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542 speaks to a non-royal audience. Its preface and images reconfigure the 1389 text to highlight themes that were current under Charles VII and Louis XI. The preface (fols. Ar–Dr) opens with instructions for the physical safeguarding of the book: its images should be protected with a sheet of silk; it should be bound with three clasps; and the cover should be decorated with the arms of the king and of the lord and lady who own it (fol. Ar). The preface next observes that the images, along with the table of allegorical figures, are crucial to a full understanding of the book (fol. Ar). It identifies and provides interpretations of the scenes pictured. The location of each image is accurately indicated: for example, the final image on fol. 31r is described as “La vii^e figure et la dernière de ceste hystoire, qui est ou debas de la marge devers la relieure” [The seventh figure and the last of this scene, which is at the bottom near the binding] (fol. Bv). The author of the preface displays an intimate knowledge of the plot of the *Songe*, accurately observing, for example, that although the king is entirely absent from the text of Book I its instructions still apply to him (fol. Bv).

In describing the images, the preface assumes that the reader would consider these descriptions when looking at them—perhaps by turning back and forth in the manuscript. Readers who did this would have been exposed to a different interpretation of the *Songe* than those who did not, or than those who read a different copy. The descriptions frequently alter the original role of Queen Truth, shifting the emphasis of both her pedagogical and judicial roles. They also offer information not available in the main text of the *Songe*. The manuscript provides its audience with background information about the text, its author, and its original dedicatee; alters its lessons for Charles VI to make them more widely applicable; and draws attention to some of the text's still-current themes, in particular the idea that France was a realm specially favored by God.

The manuscript's first image, at the beginning of the prologue (Figure 4.1, left), shows the author's conversation with Divine Providence (1:91). The

²² Demurger 1990, pp. 202–4; Vale 2008, p. 394; and Small 2009, pp. 11, 148. On crusading, see Magee 1996, p. 58; Magee 1998, p. 367; DeVries 2003, pp. 116–21; and Small 2009, pp. 139, 167.



4.1 Divine Providence visits the author in a dream (left); presentation of the *Songe du vieil pelerin* to Charles VI (right). Philippe de Mézières, *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542, fol. 1r. Photo BnF.

preface explains that it depicts a religious, kneeling before “une noble dame, acompaignee de deux damoiselles à dextre et à senestre. Le mistere de tout cecy est suffisamment dit et declairé ou prologue ensuivant l’ystoire” [a noble woman, accompanied by two ladies, on the left and right. The meaning of all this is sufficiently explained in the prologue following the image] (fol. Ar). Leaving the explanation of the scene to the prologue itself, the preface instead provides some information about the author: the “tres noble et prudent roy Charles le Quint ot à sa court un excellent docteur auquel il bailla gouverner son filz du temps de son escele” [very noble and prudent King Charles V had at his court an excellent doctor, to whom he confided the education of his son at the time of his schooling] (fol. Ar). Following Charles V’s death, the author

se feist profez en l’ordre des Celestins à Paris, et ainsi comme Aristote estans à Athenes enseigna par son livre des *Secrez des secrez* es Yndes Alexandre qui avoit esté son disciple, ce bon religieux enseigna ches les Celestins par cestui present livre ou chastel du Louvre à Paris le noble roy Charles le VI^e qui avoit esté son disciple.

[had himself initiated into the order of the Celestines in Paris. And just as Aristotle, when he was in Athens, used his book the *Secret of Secrets* to teach Alexander, who was in India and who was his disciple, so this good religious while at the Celestines used this present book to teach the noble king Charles VI, who was his disciple, in the palace of the Louvre.]²³ (fol. Ar)

Although the veracity of some of this information is difficult to determine, it is significant that the author of the preface chose to include it at all.²⁴ The assumption is that the manuscript’s new audience may not be familiar with Philippe de Mézières or the first rendition of the *Songe*. This passage also contributes to the manuscript’s prestige, associating the text with two kings of France and comparing its author to Aristotle.²⁵

The preface continues by drawing attention to the text’s original dedicatee and commenting on its reception. It describes the presentation scene (Figure 4.1, right) as depicting the king

²³ Three other manuscripts contain a longer biographical passage: Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Ms. 2682/3 (ca. 1389–1405); Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 25164 (ca. 1490); and the Cleveland manuscript (1471) (see also Appendix, below). This biography likewise associates Philippe de Mézières with Charles V and claims that he was a trusted advisor to Charles VI, who made no important decisions without first consulting him. For a transcription from Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 25164, see Contamine 2007, p. 1915.

²⁴ The contemporary evidence for Philippe de Mézières having tutored Charles VI is limited to a statement within the allegorical framework of the *Songe du vieil pelerin*. Representing the king as a falcon, the author claims to have been his first falconer (Cooiland 1969, vol. 1, pp. 85–6). Nicolas Jorga takes this as evidence that Philippe de Mézières had been the king’s tutor (Jorga 1896, p. 429). Combined with the author’s assertions of familiarity with Charles VI in his youth and his inclusion by Charles V on a list of potential members of a guardianship council in case of a minority reign, the claim seems plausible, if not definitive (Secousse 1741, vol. 6, pp. 47–8; Valois 1888, pp. 75–6; Cooiland 1969, vol. 2, pp. 206–7, 212; and Magee 1998, p. 370).

²⁵ For the medieval tradition of Aristotle and the *Secretum secretorum*, see Green 1980, p. 140; Ferster 1996, pp. 41–5; and Briggs 1999, p. 21.

en sa magesté, acompaigné de ses oncles, barons et chevaliers, lequel reçoit benignement ce livre des mains du religieux son bon maistre et docteur. Mais pou vint à sa memoyre par les contrayres. Et n'en a oncques peu finer jusques au temps du bon roy, son filz Charles le VII^e, ou il fu présenté à son loyal connestable Artus. Du quel est cestui cy redigé et plusieurs autres es cours de plusieurs grans et nobles seigneurs.

[in his majesty, accompanied by his uncles, barons, and knights, graciously receiving this book from the hands of the religious, his good master and teacher. But little of it remained in the king's memory because of the unfavorable circumstances. And nothing could come of it until the time of the good king his son, Charles VII, when it was presented to his loyal constable, Arthur (de Richemont). This copy, and many others at the courts of many great and noble lords, were made from his.]²⁶ (fol. Av)

The observation that the book did not have much impact during Charles VI's reign is borne out by the survival of only one manuscript dating to before the king's death. The reference to the "unfavorable circumstances" of the reign would likely have been understood by the manuscript's new audience.

This commentary on the fate of the text during the reign of Charles VI also shifts our attention to its new audience. In saying that the constable of France owned a copy, and in stressing that it was used as the exemplar for the present copy, the preface both claims a connection with an important figure and situates the manuscript in a particular milieu. Although the constable's manuscript has not been identified, Louis de Crussol and several other known owners of *Songe* manuscripts were indeed "noble lords." These include Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (1396–1467); Jacques d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours (1433–77), and Tanguy du Chastel (d. 1477), also a counselor and chamberlain of Louis XI.²⁷ This noble milieu perhaps explains the presence of a figure described as an "homme de conseil" [a man of counsel] (fol. Dr) standing beside the king in the manuscript's final image (Figure 4.2, right). This counselor has no equivalent in the main text of the *Songe* (1:465–84). His inclusion in the image may have enabled Louis de Crussol, whose arms appear on this page, to envision himself in a similar role.

The preface further suggests that the book will interest three different groups of readers. It informs us that the book can be understood in three ways, "selon la capacité et entendement des liseurs et auditeurs" [according to the capacity and understanding of the readers and listeners] (fol. Bv). Ladies will find it pleasing because of its large cast of female characters; those who are learned can use it as a model of rhetoric; and those who understand Holy Scripture will be able to comprehend its "moral" sense and must use

²⁶ The meaning of the word "contrayres," which is also frequently used in the main text of the *Songe*, is not entirely clear. Contamine interprets it here as "circumstances" [circumstances], while Coopland translates its use in the *Songe* as "failings." In the *Songe*, it is used to refer to the vices or problems of each of the locations examined by Queen Truth. Her attendant "Hardiesse" [Daring], for example, refers to the "contraires" of legal, administrative, and financial officers: see Coopland 1969, vol. 1, pp. 37, 457; and Contamine 2007, p. 1904.

²⁷ See Appendix, below.



4.2 Charles VI and Louis of Orléans receive Queen Truth's lessons (left); the end of the author's dream, the departure of the virtues, and Charles VI and Louis of Orléans with a counselor (right).
Philippe de Mézières, *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542, fol. 202r. Photo BnF.



4.3 Ardent Desire and Good Hope seek Queen Truth and her companions and guide them on a world journey. Philippe de Mézières, *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542, fol. 31r. Photo BnF.

the images to explain it to others who do not understand (fols. Av, Br). In providing the reader with background information about the composition and original context of the text, and in commenting on the manuscript's audience, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542 both explains and updates the *Songe* for its new context.

In its descriptions of images featuring Queen Truth in Books I, II, and III, the preface continues to address the manuscript's wider audience. The images at the beginning of Book I (Figure 4.3), proceeding clockwise from center left, depict: Ardent Desire and Good Hope seeking the Holy Mountain; their encounter with Queens Charity, Wisdom, and Truth; the journey through non-Christian lands; the journey through the lands of schismatic Christians; and the courts in Prussia and Avignon. The visual representation of Queen Truth's visits to non-Christian and schismatic lands is significant (1:220–235). The designer of the manuscript could have chosen to represent some of the more politically oriented courts that take place in the text of Book I, such as the one held in Richard II's London (1:394–403). Instead of representing a specific event from the past, the preface and these images broaden the message by stressing the obligations of good Christians. The preface claims that the voyage of Ardent Desire and Good Hope symbolizes the need to follow God's commandments after one has been baptized (fol. Br). Their role and that of Queen Truth and her companions is emphasized by the scale of the first two images, which are twice as large as the others. Continuing its focus on Christian messages, the preface's description of the court in Prussia alters the original meaning of the scene. In the main text of the *Songe*, Queen Truth concludes that the recently converted Prussians are not yet fully Christian (1:239–47). According to the preface of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542, however, this image demonstrates that at the time the book was composed “estoient entre les crestiens les Prucennayres moult bien tenans verité, c'est la foy crestienne” [the Prussians among all Christians held well to Truth, that is the Christian faith] (fol. Bv). The preface alters the original judgment of Queen Truth, casting the Prussians as model Christians.

If the images in Book I are used to remind the text's new audience of their duties as good Christians, those at the beginning of Book II—which takes place in Paris—call the reader's attention to a still-current theme of the *Songe*. The preface highlights the idea that the kingdom of France was specially favored by God, and accorded particular responsibilities as a result.²⁸ In the *Songe*, Queen Truth uses this idea to remind Charles VI that he has particular obligations: the kings of France “sont appelez Tres Crestien” [are called Most Christian] due to the efforts of Charlemagne, Saint Louis, and other French kings in upholding the Christian faith (2:142). He must not accept the title of Most Christian if he does not intend to serve God as did his ancestors (2:142). This title, which had originated as a form of papal recognition to monarchs, was increasingly limited to the kings of France by the fourteenth

²⁸ Contamine 2007, p. 1910.

moine de charlie. Et q'il estoit
assez contens d'auoir seigneur sur
eulx au quel ilz obeissent mais
sa seigneurie fust regulee. et non
pas si large ne si lee au l'ourdun
sont les seigneurie de la crete
La roine et les dames en flades
laisserent leurs lieutenans et pas
serent en benaunt ardent desir mo
strant la voie. Le quel pais de ben
nault auoit pris en nouueau no
m de leurs pees ne fu l'unaire
trouue. C'est assauoir le pais de ben
nault estoit appelle neutre. cest ass
des lieutenans et breues generaux
du pere de la roine. Assez de cotmure
y auoit au pais en chm des eschz.
Les dames firent leur office sans for
mer au pais leurs fins besas. La
roine et les trois dames laisserent
leurs lieutenans et vindrent a ca
biay la ou elles furent asse bue et
cullies selon la faculte de la dite
ate. Et de la entreient en puerie
bien batue et bien chastee. q'neft
pas au l'ourdun bñ florie. Les dñs
passent p'ronar et parras p'vine
dors et p'beauuays. et finalement
se trouuent pres de la bñ ville de pa
ris. Apres la fin du premier liure
Cy comence le second liure du
sonne du bñ pelerin adroissant
au blanc fauot au bec et pres dors.
Et yment par le se p'm d'appt
Dune pitieus tragedie q'fut ard
desir de ce q'la fore et les dame n'at
encores trouue place conuenable
pour former leurs fins besans.



Ardant desir et la
suer bñ espar
supplient ala
roine d'empere
Sine petite audi
ence. la quelle
leur fut tantost octroyee. Adid d
print la parole et dist as. Mes
tresumees dames se ne puis ou
blier ma tresmeur douleur por
q'le bor par tout q' marchandise
faillie et q'le besant de mes freres
cretiens dont il coment vende
compte au grant maistr de la
monoye ne sa point multipli
ant. Et touteffois mes tresme
noiees dames ma suer bñ espar

and fifteenth centuries.²⁹ The *Songe* promotes the idea that it was a traditional right of French kings. Jean Gerson likewise invoked the idea when he urged Charles VI to intervene in the papal schism. The concept attributed to both king and kingdom a superiority over other Christian realms.³⁰ Under Charles VII, the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges made the idea of the Most Christian King “more relevant than ever,” presenting the Pragmatic Sanction as a natural progression.³¹ The successes of Joan of Arc were seen in part as further evidence of the divine favor shown to French kings.³²

The images of Book II, spread over two pages, use Queen Truth’s pedagogical and judicial roles to promote this French privilege. The first image (Figure 4.4) depicts Queen Truth’s arrival in Paris, with the cathedral of Notre-Dame visible in the background (1:445–6). According to the preface of the manuscript, this image shows “une espiciale divine visitacion attribuee par la grace de Dieu au royaume de France” [a particular divine inspection attributed by the grace of God to the kingdom of France] (fol. Cr). The king and the representatives of the city signify their “singuliere reverence, amour, et obeissance” [singular reverence, love, and obedience] to the Church (fol. Cr). Despite the fact that, by this point in the story, Queen Truth has already visited at least 25 other realms, her visit to France is now a special “divine inspection” and an occasion to highlight the Most Christian King.

The preface also emphasizes the special role of France in its approach to the third image of Book II (Figure 4.5, right). Here we see the allegorical ships of France and England, as well as the king in a chariot receiving a chessboard from Queen Truth. In terms of the plot of the *Songe*, both the chariot and the chessboard actually belong in Book III. Their displacement draws attention to them. While neither ship bears the arms of England or France, the fleurs-de-lis on the chariot draw the viewer’s attention to it as being particularly French. Here the preface informs us that the chessboard “signifie Dieu qui visite tousjours ses amis en leurs tribulations” [signifies God, who always visits His friends in their times of trouble] (fol. Cr). In particular, although France has been harried for its sins “par la verge d’Angleterre depuis la mort des enfans du roy Phelippe le Bel” [by means of the rod of England since the death of King Philip the Fair’s children], God will bestow His grace upon France because of “une amour singuliere qu’il a audit royaume” [a singular love which He has for the said kingdom] (fols. Cr–Cv). The first image in Book III (Figure 4.6), which shows Queen Truth in both her judicial and pedagogical roles, also stresses this theme. Seated in the Parisian Parlement, she hands the allegorical tablets of instruction to Charles VI. According to the preface, these demonstrate “les grans graces” [the great graces] that God has given him, placing him as the Most Christian King “dessus tous les autres roys” [above all other kings] (fol. Cv).

²⁹ Krynen 1981, pp. 207–11; Krynen 1993, pp. 345–83.

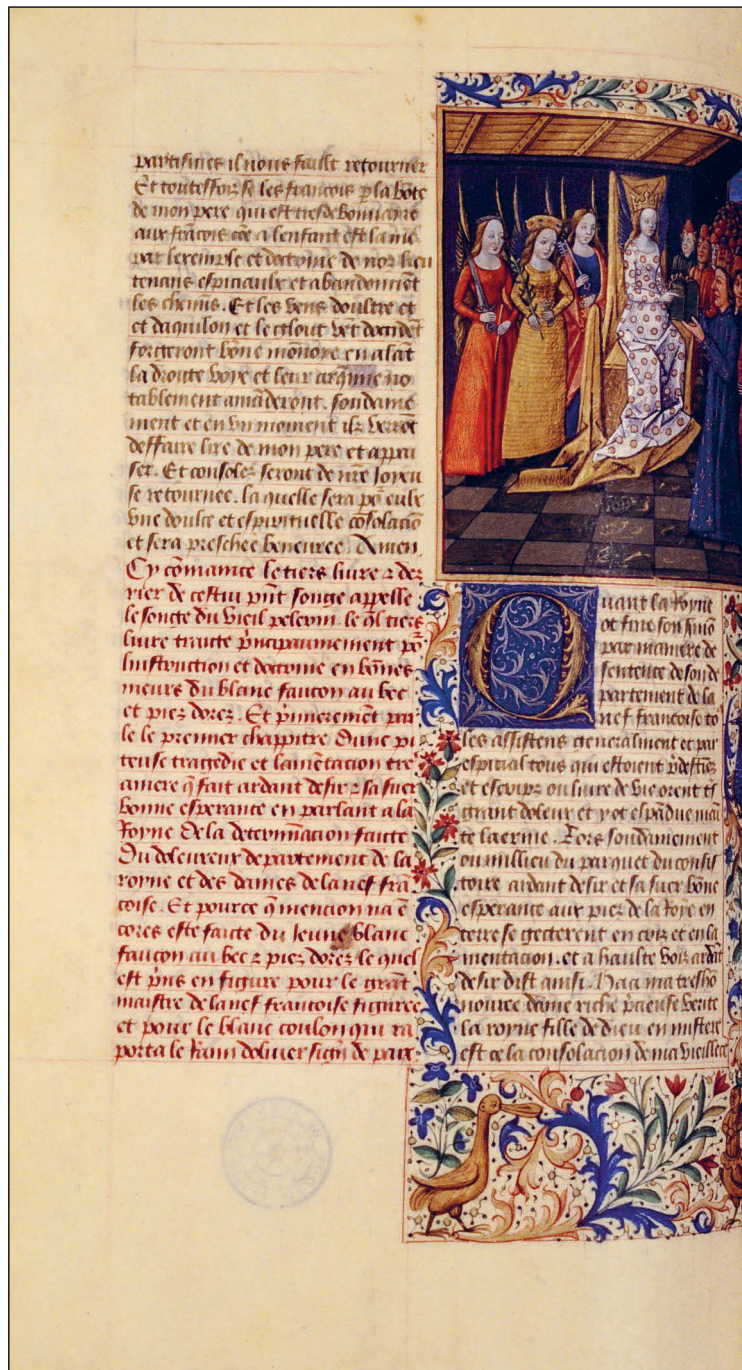
³⁰ Krynen 1981, pp. 90, 211; Beaune 1985, pp. 61–3; and Small 2009, pp. 8–11.

³¹ Small 2009, p. 11.

³² Krynen 1993, p. 371.



4.5 Queen Truth's Parlement in Paris, featuring discussions between Daring and a lawyer and Good Faith and Old Superstition/Astrology (left); the allegorical ships of France and England; Queen Truth gives a chessboard to Charles VI, seated in his chariot (right). Philippe de Mézières, *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542, fol. 122r. Photo BnF.



4.6 Queen Truth in the Parisian Parlement, handing Charles VI the tablets with her lessons. Philippe de Mézières, *Songe du vieil pelerin*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542, fol. 201v. Photo BnF.

The central image of Book II (see above Figure 4.5, left) invokes two particularly French institutions: the University of Paris, and the Parlement. Here Queen Truth presides over two discussions: first that between “Bonne Foy” [Good Faith], representing the University, and “Vieille Superstition” [Old Superstition], called an “Astronomienne” [Astrology] in the preface; and second, that between one of Queen Truth’s attendants, “Hardiesse” [Daring], and a lawyer (1:462–507, 595–621). While the preface’s observation that the university should help correct the evils of astrology (fol. Cr) is in keeping with the main text of the *Songe*, the manuscript’s approach to the role of Parlement is different. In the main text, the lawyer defends the French judicial system against Daring’s accusations that it has been corrupted by lawyers (1:462–507). In the *Songe*, this scene argues for reform. According to the preface, this instead shows that France has been granted “son benoist parlement de tenir vraye justice afin de vivre en paix sans avoir bandes, murtreries, champ de bataille, et inimitez vindicatives comme il y a es autres royaumes” [its blessed Parlement, to keep true justice, in order to permit people to live in peace, without gangs, murders, battle, and vindictive hostilities as exist in other realms] (fol. Cr).

For the audience of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542, this commentary on the Parlement may have called to mind changes in the institution under Charles VII. Following the Burgundian occupation of Paris in 1418, the dauphin Charles established a Parlement in Poitiers to serve as the sovereign court of the realm. From Charles VI’s death in 1422 until 1436 when Charles VII took Paris, France had two sovereign Parlements answering to two different rulers: that of Charles VII in Poitiers, and the Anglo-Burgundian Parlement in Paris.³³ At the region’s request, Charles VII also established a Parlement at Toulouse in 1420. This multiplication of Parlements helped Charles VII increase the “judicial authority” of French kings in regions that had traditionally followed their own legal customs.³⁴ In claiming the Parlement as a uniquely French institution, the manuscript stresses the idea of France as a particularly favored realm. For its fifteenth-century readers, it may also have called to mind the changing role of Parlement during Charles VII’s reign.

The preface’s approach to the manuscript’s penultimate image (see Figure 4.2) also appeals to its new audience. Here Charles VI, accompanied by his brother Louis, receives the chessboard from Queen Truth. They are surrounded by a circle of attendants assembled by the queen to shield them from the eyes of curious onlookers as she teaches them (2:120–121). According to the preface, this circle

vault autant à dire que le noble roy de France et tous ceulx du sang royal qui sont capables de parvenir à la couronne qui ont receu le saint sacrement de baptesme, et promis de tenir et garder les commandemens de Dieu, doivent estre fermez et encloz es vertuz de Jesuscrist.

³³ Vale 1974, p. 59; Little 1984, pp. 1, 211.

³⁴ Little 1984, p. 211.

[shows that the noble king of France and all those of the royal blood who are capable of attaining the crown, and who have received the holy sacrament of baptism, and promised to uphold and keep the commandments of God, must be encircled and enclosed by the virtues of Jesus Christ.] (fols. Cv–Dr)

The preface continues by describing Queen Truth's gift of the chessboard as "la doctrine de l'église qui est la royne Verité, vraye espouse de Jesucrist, ou autrement se trouver hors du cercle des damoiselles, c'est des vertuz, et estre vuidé d'icelles et loing de l'amour de Dieu" [the doctrine of the Church, which shows that Queen Truth is the true spouse of Jesus Christ. In other words, to find oneself outside the circle of damsels, that is of the virtues, is to be devoid of them and far from the love of God] (fols. Cv–Dr).

This is remarkable considering that in both the main text of the *Songe* and the image, the *only* two people inside the circle of virtues are Charles VI and Louis. Even the counselor who appears with them in the next image (see Figure 4.2, right) is excluded. The preface alters the significance of both chessboard and attendants, taking a lesson intended for Charles VI and turning it into both a lesson for all Christians and an assertion of the responsibilities of members of the French royal blood. This continues into the final paragraph, which transforms the tablets, the chessboard, and the chariot into tools to instruct more clearly "la memoyre et entendement de ceulx qui le lyront et orront" [the memory and understanding of those who will read and hear it] (fol. Dr).

Conclusion

Originating as an attempt to enter the political conversation at the court of Charles VI, the *Songe du vieil pelerin* enjoyed an afterlife in manuscript form, proving popular under Charles VII and Louis XI. The makers of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542 acknowledge this, shaping the preface and the images to provide the manuscript's readers, listeners, and viewers with information about the text's original composition and shifting its emphasis to issues that were still current during the reigns of subsequent kings. The text's pedagogical and judicial framework, constructed by the new preface and visual cycle, appeals to new audiences. It provides lessons for all Christian readers, but remains politically engaged by emphasizing the French Parlement and French claims to the title of Most Christian King. Manuscripts like Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542 thus demonstrate both the way in which political and didactic texts could be adapted for new audiences, and the importance of studying such works in their material, manuscript context.

Appendix

SONGE DU VIEIL PELERIN MANUSCRIPTS AND THEIR KNOWN OWNERS³⁵

1. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 2682/3 (ca. 1389–1405).
2. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9200/1 (1465). Philip the Good.
3. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22542 (ca. 1422–83, possibly 1452–58). Louis de Crussol and Jeanne de Lévis. The manuscript measures 25 cm by 37.5 cm and consists of 377 parchment folios in two columns. It contains: the preface, which is unique to this manuscript (fols. Ar–Dr); the prologue (fols. 1r–10v); the table of allegorical figures (fols. 11r–14r); the list of rubrics, which identify the chapter headings of the book (fols. 14v–30v); Book I (fols. 31r–121v); Book II (fols. 121v–201v); and Book III (fols. 201v–372r). The manuscript is collated in regular eight-folio gatherings which do not correspond to the division of the text. It contains a total of 14 images. These are distributed in four groups, placed at the beginning of the prologue and each of the three books. Queen Truth is featured in ten of the images.
4. Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 25164 (ca. 1490). Robert le Loup; Claude d'Urfé.³⁶
5. Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château, Ms. 292 (ca. 1433–77). Jacques d'Armagnac.³⁷
6. Cleveland, Cleveland Public Library, John G. White Collection (F 4091.94. M579s) (1471). Convent of the Celestines in Paris. I have determined the date and ownership of this manuscript based on a passage currently visible only under UV light (fol. 310v). It contains a biography of the author and a note stating that “Ce livre est des Celestins de Paris” [This manuscript belongs to the Celestines of Paris]. A similar passage has been inserted on a folded sheet of paper into the Arsenal manuscript, in which a note explains that it was reproduced from a paper copy of the *Songe* held at the Celestines of Paris. This was likely the Cleveland manuscript. Parts of the Cleveland passage remain illegible, but cross-referencing with the Arsenal version of the author's biography dates the Celestines' manuscript to 1471.
7. Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Mss. fr. 183/1 and 183/2 (second half of the fifteenth century).³⁸
8. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2551 (fifteenth century). Tanguy du Chastel. This manuscript may have initially belonged to Jacques d'Armagnac, although I have been unable to find the signature described by Diane E. Booton as appearing on fol. 234v.³⁹

³⁵ For the list of manuscripts, see Blanchard 2008, pp. 51–5.

³⁶ Vernet 1976, pp. 81, 83, 91, 96.

³⁷ Cottureau-Gabillet 2010, p. 238.

³⁸ Dubuis 2009, p. 314.

³⁹ Booton 2009, pp. 194, 353.

Allegorical Design and Political Image-Making in Late Medieval France

Cynthia J. Brown

Résumé français: *Ce chapitre analyse trois débats littéraires parus dans des manuscrits enluminés datant du XV^e siècle ou du début du XVI^e siècle: Le Quadrilogue invectif d'Alain Chartier (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24441), La Ressource de la Chrestienté d'André de la Vigne (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687), et Le Voyage de Gênes de Jean Marot (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5091). Il montre comment ces trois auteurs et leurs miniaturistes ont traduit des crises de pouvoir politiques et psychologiques par le maniement du procédé de l'allégorie, sous forme littéraire et iconographique, de façon similaire et innovatrice. Ces œuvres se caractérisent par une mise en scène politique de plus en plus agressive et violente au cours du temps. La position défensive de "France," personnification du pays dans la prose de Chartier, cède la place au soutien vigoureux à l'offensive de Charles VIII en Italie de la part de "Dame Chrestienté" et "Dame Noblesse" dans le prosimètre de La Vigne, tandis que Marot invite le lecteur à glorifier l'invasion militaire de la ville personnifiée de "Gênes" par Louis XII, dont l'emportement est camouflé sous les traits du personnage allégorique de "Raison."*

In 1422, the French kingdom was in the grips of one of its most dramatic political crises, torn apart internally and threatened externally by civil and foreign powers in the dynastic confrontation known as the Hundred Years War. Sometime between April 12 and August 13 of that year, Alain Chartier, who had fled Paris in 1418 and subsequently became the dauphin Charles's secretary, addressed in literary fashion the grave predicament facing the French kingdom by staging a four-way allegorical dialogue entitled the *Quadrilogue invectif*.¹

¹ See Droz 1950, p. iv, for the dating of the *Quadrilogue invectif*. According to Droz 1950, p. v, Chartier, having fled Paris in 1418, became the dauphin's secretary in 1422 and later served as his ambassador during missions to Germany (1424), the papacy (1425), Venice (1425), Bruges (1426), and Scotland (1427). For further details on Chartier's life, see Hoffman 1942; Walravens 1971; and Laidlaw 1974, pp. 1–27. See Roux 1978 for insight into Chartier's political motivation. For details on the Hundred Years War, see, for example, Allmand 1988.

This prose “traité” [treatise], essentially an appeal to unity behind the future Charles VII, has come down to us today in more than 40 manuscripts, one of which, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24441, dating from the mid-fifteenth century,² will be the focus of our attention. With one of the most important political allegories of the late Middle Ages, Chartier provided a literary model for his successors, future court writers who likewise sought to engage with contemporary political crises through fiction, perhaps with the idea in mind that the pen is as mighty as the sword, as “France” [France] herself suggests to the narrator, or “Acteur” [author-narrator], at the end of the *Quadrilogue invectif*.³ In other words, literature could be used as a weapon to change political reality.

Some 70 years later in 1494, during another crisis involving the French kingdom, Charles VIII’s controversial decision to pursue his dynastic claims to the kingdom of Naples, the monarch’s future secretary, André de la Vigne, chose to represent the political tensions surrounding this much-disputed issue in another allegorical debate that supported the king’s objectives. The author justified Charles VIII’s projected military campaign into Italy by way of an attack against the Turks in Constantinople as the first phase of a Crusade to recover Jerusalem.⁴ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687, the single known illustrated manuscript version of the *Ressource de la Chrestienté*, was dedicated to the French monarch himself.

The crisis involving Charles’s successor, Louis XII, namely his political and military confrontation with Genoa to which he had laid dynastic claim, was likewise translated into allegorical terms by the royal secretary, Jean Marot.⁵ The revolt of Genoa against French rule in a popular uprising in 1506 and France’s success in quelling the city’s vigorous resistance through armed force, culminating in the French king’s victorious entry into Genoa in April 1507, inspired Marot’s work, the *Voyage de Gênes*.⁶ Unlike his two predecessors, however, Marot, in staging a contemporary crisis after the fact, personified the French adversary rather than the French kingdom. The reconfiguration of the *Voyage de Gênes* in the illustrated manuscript, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5091, a codex stunningly decorated by Jean Bourdichon, offers evidence, like its two models, not only of how power and justice were conceived, discussed, and adjudicated

² For a description of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24441, see Rouy 1989, pp. XXVIII–XXXI. Bouchet 2011, p. xxvii, dates the manuscript to 1440–61; whereas Laidlaw 1974, pp. 43–4, claims that nearly all surviving manuscripts of Chartier’s work were transcribed after his death. Unlike many extant manuscripts of the *Quadrilogue invectif*, however, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24441 contains a dedication miniature (see below).

³ The Acteur states: “autant exaulça la gloire des Romains et renforça leurs couraiges a vertu la plume et la langue des orateurs comme les glaives des combatans” [for the pen and the language of its orators extolled the glory of the Romans and encouraged their hearts to virtue as much as the swords of its soldiers] (p. 83). All citations are taken from the Bouchet 2011 edition.

⁴ La Vigne was clearly inspired by Chartier. For details on his life and works, see C. Brown 1989, pp. 1–17. All citations are taken from the C. Brown 1989 edition of the *Ressource de la Chrestienté*. For further details on this complex history, see Labande-Mailfert 1975, pp. 160–218.

⁵ The most complete study of Jean Marot’s life and works is that of Rutson 1960. See also Defaux and Mantovani 1999, pp. ix–cx.

⁶ For details on Louis XII’s conquest of Genoa, see Bridge 1929, pp. 252–94. All citations are taken from the Trisolini 1974 edition of the *Voyage de Gênes*.

in literary terms during the late medieval period, but also how images were exploited to visualize debates about the use and abuse of authority.

Although rather different crises inspired these literary performances, the three works in question share many aspects of an allegorical *mise-en-scène* of vying forces of power. In each piece, the complaint of a threatened, debilitated, and aggrieved personified female protagonist, who is often described in remarkably similar terms,⁷ triggers deliberation about a potential resolution of her dire situation. These characters include a kingdom (France) torn apart by civil and foreign wars; a religious institution ("Dame Chrestienté" [Lady Christianity]) associated with the European Church's expansion to the Holy Lands and distressed by internal dissension and external attacks; and an equally distraught city-state ("Gênes" [Genoa]) divided from within and threatened from without. Both Chartier's France and Marot's Genoa decry the animosity and bitterness among their three sons, whose transgressions have precipitated their mother's downfall. In the same vein, La Vigne's Lady Christianity bemoans the absence of support from her supposed allies, "filz" and "enfants chrestiens" [sons and Christian children] (v. 73).⁸ In each case, a series of speeches delivered by various personified figures debate critical contemporary issues. All plaintiffs seek some form of resolution, justice or "resource," and the French kingdom, in one guise or another—as France, "Magesté Royale" [Royal Majesty], and "Raison" [Reason]—ultimately serves as mediator and/or rescuer. In the first two works, the allegorical scenario is engendered through the conventional authorizing mechanism of the dream-induced, sometimes nightmarish vision of the first-person narrator who, as a more or less objective witness of the debate, subsequently records the proceedings.⁹ In the *Voyage de Gênes*, Mars and Bellona set the stage for the ensuing allegorical scenario by fomenting rebellion among the people of Genoa against their aristocratic rulers: the narrator mysteriously surfaces as witness to the subsequent allegorical drama.

While dramatically probing central political concerns of the day by casting related crises into literary terms, Chartier, La Vigne, and Marot also implicitly engaged with contemporary literary issues in the staging of their debates. Their creations involved an exploration of the relationship between fiction and history, the integration of rhetoric into literary discourse, the construction of personified characters in a politicized allegorical framework that frequently entailed a form of "gender-bending," and the adoption of prose, verse, and/or

⁷ Compare, for example, the descriptions of France (Bouchet 2011, pp. 10–14) and "Dame Chrestienté" [Lady Christianity] (C. Brown 1989, ll. 25–49, 50–65).

⁸ Lady Christianity and "Dame Noblesse" [Lady Nobility] are apparently sisters (vv. 262, 278). Nobility calls herself God's "fillecte adoptive" [adoptive daughter] (v. 841).

⁹ For other late medieval dream-induced political narratives, see Evrard de Trémaugon's *Songe du Verger* (1378), which involves Charles V; Philippe de Mézières's *Songe du vieil pelerin* (1389), which treats Charles VI; Honorat Bovet's *Somnium super materiam schismatis* (1394), which invokes Charles VI, as well as other European kings and French dukes; and Jean Molinet's *Complainte de Grèce* (1464), which praises the anticipated (but never realized) crusade of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy to the Holy Lands. For an analysis of the latter work, see Marchello-Nizia 1981; and C. Brown 1983, pp. 53–8.

prosimetrum.¹⁰ Furthermore, the codicological reconfiguration of each of these authors' texts necessitated that miniaturists and other bookmakers interpret the political harmonies and tensions at work in these writings before visually embodying the text's authority figures and their adversaries.

To what degree do the illustrations of power and justice in these three manuscripts faithfully reproduce the ideas of Chartier, La Vigne, and Marot, and to what extent do they offer another vision or version? Where does the power lie in each of these works and how is it textually and visually defined? What is considered to be just or unjust, principled or unprincipled? Does this change over time? How are the oppressed and victimized depicted in these works? What role does the psychological impact of dissension play and how is it textually and visually portrayed? I shall attempt to answer these very questions in the subsequent analysis.

The Textual and Visual Staging of Chartier's 1422 Prose Debate

In the *Quadrilogue invectif*, France and her sons, "Le Peuple" [The People], "Le Chevalier" [The Knight], and "Le Clergé" [The Clergy], along with the narrator himself all attribute ultimate power to God, interpreting their current crisis as God's just punishment for their—or their sons' or brothers'—reprehensible behavior.¹¹ But the dramatic tensions at work in the *Quadrilogue invectif* involve human power and justice through the personified socio-political forces on stage, France's children, although the greatest animosity textually speaking riles The People and The Knight, who repeatedly and harshly blame each other for the war and its dire consequences.

There is essentially a power vacuum in the *Quadrilogue invectif* precisely because the mother, France, is portrayed as a weakened figure: she is "dolente et esplouree ... decheue de plus hault honneur ... espouventee et douteuse ... esbranlee ... enclinee ... fort grevee de si long travail ... le visage couvert de larmes ... desireuse de secours et contrainte par besoing" [sorrowful and full of tears ... fallen from the highest honor ... frightened and uncertain ... shaken ... declining ... most aggrieved from such great burdens ... her face covered with tears ... desirous of aid and constrained by need] (pp. 10, 13–14). And yet, she wields a certain amount of authority, since there is an expectation, at least on the part of The People and The Knight, that she will offer a final judgment.¹²

¹⁰ Marot's exploitation of epideictic rhetoric, in its vituperative and celebratory modes, essentially replaced the deliberative rhetoric of the exhortations of Chartier's and La Vigne's characters.

¹¹ The narrator states: "Si est a doubter que la verge de punicion divine soit sur nous pour noz pechiez et que l'oscurté de nos vies et corumpues meurs aveugle en nous le jugement de raison" [Thus we should fear that the rod of divine punishment is upon us because of our sins and that the darkness of our lives and our corrupt ways blind us from reasonable judgment] (p. 9).

¹² The People states: "Ainsi descharge mon cuer envers toy, mere tres-redoutable, exempt de la coulpe de griefz maulz dont je porte la paine, et me rapporte a ton bon jugement de savoir a qui en est le blasme" [Thus I unburden my heart to you, most honorable mother,

Nevertheless, although she verbally attacks her sons at the outset,¹³ France renders no explicit verdict as to the winner and loser of the debate. Following the lengthy sermon-like oration of The Clergy, who is less vituperative than his two brothers, because he abandons the accusatory second-person form, France, siding with none of her sons, instead states that “chascun la doye plus appliquer a son chastisement que a vitupere de son prouchain” [each must attend more to his own punishment than to insulting his brother] and that they should work together for the “bien publique” [public good] (p. 82). What France does order is that their entire debate be recorded, that each of her sons acknowledge his faults, and that subsequent readers amend the error of their ways as well. Whether this outcome is achieved does not figure in the action of the *Quadriologue invectif*. Of course, in 1422, France was years away from any resolution to its political crisis.

Paris, BrF, Ms. fr. 24441 contains Chartier's *Quadriologue invectif* and offers one of the most elaborately ornamented reproductions of the author's prose text.¹⁴ The miniature on fol. 2r (Figure 5.1) illustrates Chartier's prologue which begins immediately beneath the illustration. Rhetorically speaking, the author has recast the conventional dedication to a single noble patron into this general address directed as well at all three levels of French society. The unknown miniaturist presents a faithful visual rendition of this prologue by depicting an enthroned (but uncrowned) prince, presumably the dauphin Charles, surrounded by three courtiers, who, along with the clerics to the right and laborers to the left anticipate the subsequent debate among the representatives of these classes. A red-robed author-figure, sitting at the foot of the throne, writes on a folio.¹⁵ A second miniature (Figure 5.2) translates

exempt from the misdeed of my grievous ills whose pain I bear, and I rely on your good judgment in knowing who is to blame] (p. 32). The Knight states: “Prend doncques en gré, mere, ce que le peuple me contrainst de respondre et juge de nostre debat a ton bon plaisir, car de ma part je m'en cuide assez estre deschargié” [Therefore, accept willingly, mother, what the people force me to answer and judge our debate however you wish, since, for my part, I believe I am quite acquitted of (any responsibility)] (p. 47). The narrator states: “la dame dessus escripte ... fist conclusion a leurs argumens et questions” [the above-mentioned lady concluded their argument and questions] (pp. 81–2). For a discussion of the personification of France in the late medieval period, see Lassabatère 2002. See Blumenfeld-Kosinski 2002, pp. 214–20; and Bouchet 2002, pp. 1–40, for additional commentary on the *Quadriologue invectif*.

¹³ “O hommes forvoiez du chemin de bonne congnoissance, feminins de couraiges et de meurs, loingtains de vertuz, forlignez de la constance de vos peres, qui pour delicieusement vivre choisissez a mourir sans honneur, quelle musardie ou chetiveté de cuer vous tient les mains ployees et les voulezent amaties, que vous bastez en regardant devant voz yeulx vostre commune desertion ...?” [Oh, you men, who have strayed from the path of goodness, effeminate in your boldness and manners, far from virtue, strangers to your fathers' constancy, you who, in order to live voluptuously, choose to die without honor, what idleness or wretchedness of heart keeps your hands folded and your will so weakened that you construct your common downfall right before your own eyes ...?] (p. 14).

¹⁴ The *Quadriologue invectif* (fols. 1r–32r) is followed in this manuscript by Chartier's *Livre de l'Espérance*, which accompanies the work in many other extant manuscripts (see Rouy 1989, pp. XVI–XLVI).

¹⁵ Describing himself in the Prologue as “Alain Charretier, humble secretaire du roy” [Alain Chartier, the king's humble secretary], the author dedicates the *Quadriologue invectif* not only “A la treshaulte et excellente majesté des princes” [to the most noble and excellent



5.1 The author writes his poem before his prince and the three French estates. Alain Chartier, *Le Quadrilogue invectif*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24441, fol. 2r. Photo BnF.



5.2 France holds up the crumbling structure of the French kingdom before her quarreling children, The Knight, The Clergy, and The People. Alain Chartier, *Le Quadrilogue invectif*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24441, fol. 5v. Photo BnF.

the complex four-way dialogue among France and her sons into visual terms, evoking in a compelling manner the tensions that strain the discussion between the debilitated France and her ill-behaved children. France is portrayed in an extremely distressed state with disheveled hair and crown askew, just as the text indicates. She supports the broken wall of the House of France, which here resembles a cathedral, and her cloak bears many of those details meticulously described by Chartier's narrator.¹⁶ In keeping with the narrator's initial vision as expressed textually, The People lies on the ground—here his body with arms folded turns away from the scene—the armored Knight stands erect above him in intimidating fashion with sword in one hand and standard in the other, and The Clergy, arms folded in a rather judgmental pose, sits apart looking on. This scene serves, then, as a general composite version of the accusations exchanged among the three classes.

The Textual and the Visual Staging of La Vigne's 1494 Debate Poem

In the *Ressource de la Chrestienté*, written some 70 years after the *Quadrilogue invectif* in *prosimetrum* form, Royal Majesty is clearly the power center: it is to her court that Lady Christianity comes to plead her case; it is Royal Majesty who determines the outcome of the debate after being persuaded by the speeches of Christianity, Nobility, and "Bon Conseil" [Good Counsel] and after rejecting the opposing opinion voiced by "Je-ne-sçay-qui" [I-Don't-Know-Who]; and it is Royal Majesty who, governed by "Raison" [Reason] (l. 1382), makes the decision to offer military aid in defense of the weakened, demoralized, and exiled Lady Christianity.¹⁷ The iconography of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687 confirms the authoritative role of Royal Majesty—and of her historical counterpart.¹⁸

In ten historiated initials, the unknown artist of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687 visually recounts the allegorical staging beginning with Lady Christianity's arrival in France and her initial encounter with Lady Nobility, who promises

majesty of princes]—most likely the dauphin himself—but also "a la treshonnooree magnificence des nobles, circonspection des clers et bonne industrie du peuple françois" [to the most honored magnificence of nobles, the wisdom of clerics, and the good industry of the French people] (p. 3).

¹⁶ For a detailed analysis of the figure of France, see Rouy 1980.

¹⁷ La Vigne's use of varied verse forms for the speeches delivered by the five personified figures and prose for the Acteur's narrative interludes distinguishes the text's two diegetic levels; special acrostic verses highlight the words of Royal Majesty. For further details, see C. Brown 2005b. Good Counsel claims that he speaks "par raison ma cause demener" [to pursue my cause through reason] (v. 1197). Described as "Dame esploree, femme tresdouloureuse, / A bien gemyr present habilletee / Et de soulas du tout debilletee" [Grieving lady, most dolorous woman, presently accustomed to deep mourning and deprived of all solace] (vv. 187–9), Lady Christianity states that "presque suis forcene hors du sens" [I am all but driven mad out of my mind] (l. 198) (see also vv. 82–6, 106–8, 122, 134, 154–6, and 187–9).

¹⁸ See C. Brown 1989, pp. 79–81, for a description of this manuscript.

to take up her cause (Figure 5.3), Christianity's introduction at the court of Royal Majesty (Figure 5.4) and the ensuing debate. The miniaturist's unusual interpretation of I-Don't-Know-Who (Figure 5.5), the one voice of opposition, who wears a tri-partite costume that reflects the three different classes, suggests that adversaries to the king's projected military campaign hailed from all segments of society. La Vigne, however, makes no mention himself of the socio-political make-up of I-Don't-Know-Who, simply depicting him as "ung homme d'estrange stature" [a man of strange bearing] (l. 169) who interrupts Lady Nobility.¹⁹ The artist of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687 provides a striking final illustration of the rift between the departing debaters following Royal Majesty's judgment, with the "good" side exiting stage right (fol. 42v). While several images depict the author/narrator, who dreams the allegorical vision (fol. 2r), eavesdrops on some of the action (fols. 2v, 10r), and witnesses and then records the debate and outcome (fol. 44v), it is Royal Majesty who visually dominates all the court scenes by virtue of her central position on the throne, as we see in Figures 5.4–5.5.

Visual evidence of related historical realities is juxtaposed with the fictional iconography of the *Ressource de la Chrestienté* in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687. The initial full-page miniature (Figure 5.6) dramatizes in conventional fashion the author's dedication of his work to the French king. This event remains outside the reality of the allegorical scenario as it marks La Vigne's book as a royal gift, and announces where power lies in the world of the reader, writer, and dedicatee, namely with the French king himself. The scene also anticipates visual and textual associations with the subsequent allegorical staging: Charles VIII is enthroned in the dedication scene in the very same way that Royal Majesty is seated in the historiated initials (compare Figure 5.6 with Figures 5.4 and 5.5). She is surrounded, like him, by her acolytes, and she bears the same royal attributes of power: her crown, scepter, and royal apparel decorated with fleurs-de-lis.²⁰ In addition, an extraordinary series of marginal decorations surround and invade the text in alternation on every single folio

¹⁹ Good Counsel's urging of Royal Majesty to take up arms (vv. 1319–20) suggests that La Vigne considered him to be a knight. Curiously, I-Don't-Know-Who's pacifist stance, disparaged by Good Counsel as selfish and dishonorable, dovetails to a certain degree with the position embraced by Chartier in the *Quadrilogue invectif*. Those opposing Charles VIII's expedition included the Lords of Graille and Argenton (Commynes), the Cardinal of Espinay, Pierre de Bourbon, Louis of Orléans, and others including the cities of Rouen, Orléans, and Paris who saw no commercial profit for themselves. See Labande-Mailfert 1975, pp. 219–31, for further details.

²⁰ See ll. 129–35: "avoit ung tresnoble consistoire tout tendu de belles fleurs de lix, acoustré au grant et au petit possible, dedens lequel estoit assise hault en une chaire couverte de drap d'or Magesté Royale, ayant sur son chief une tresriche couronne de pierres precieuses, vestue et habillée d'abit royal en tel cas requis et tenant ung ceptre en sa main dextre, autour de laquelle estoient plusieurs grans seigneurs acoustreux Dieu sache comment" [there was a most noble assembly hall all decorated with beautiful fleurs-de-lis, arranged with the greatest and down to the least detail possible, in which was seated high on a throne covered with gold fabric Royal Majesty, wearing a very rich crown of precious stones on her head, dressed in the requisite royal dress and holding in her right hand a scepter; around her were many high-ranking lords dressed God knows how].



5.3 Lady Christianity meets Lady Nobility in the Garden of France. André de la Vigne, *La Ressource de la Chrestienté*, Paris, BnF, fr. 1687, fol. 10r. Photo BnF.



5.4 Lady Christianity with Lady Nobility at the court of Royal Majesty. André de la Vigne, *La Ressource de la Chrestienté*, Paris, BnF, fr. 1687, fol. 23v. Photo BnF.



5.5 I-Don't-Know-Who speaks at the court of Royal Majesty. André de la Vigne, *La Ressource de la Chrestienté*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687, fol. 31v. Photo BnF.



5.6 Dedication of the work by the author to King Charles VIII. André de la Vigne, *La Ressource de la Chrestienté*, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687, fol. 1v. Photo BnF.

of the manuscript. Emblems of the French king (fleurs-de-lis) (Figure 5.3), of the queen (ermine) (Figure 5.7), of the dauphin Charles-Orland (dolphins) (Figure 5.5), and all three together (Figure 5.4) provide constant reminders of the true source of political power associated with La Vigne's work in general and this manuscript in particular. The acrostics deployed within the text itself that spell out Charles VIII's name and a prayer on his behalf are enhanced through decoration.²¹ This symbolizes the veritable alliance of historical

²¹ See, for example, the acrostic prayer's end in Figure 5.7. The name "Charles de Valois" is vertically displayed on fols. 23v–25v (ll. 678–743) as the first letters of a pseudo-ballad and, in the third stanza and envoy, at the hemistich as well. The acrostic on fols. 43r–44v (vv. 1364–1445) spells out "CHARLES HVITJESME ET DERNJER DE CE NOM PAR

and allegorical, textual and iconographical authority in the *Ressource de la Chrestienté*: Royal Majesty essentially stands in for the French king and makes the speeches generated by his name. Thus, female personification shares textual and visual power with her male historical counterpart, the seated judge-like figure, who listens, knows when to intervene, chooses the most qualified opinion, and renders a verdict.

The Textual and Visual Staging of Marot's 1506 Debate Poem

The allegorical and iconographic dynamics of the *Voyage de Gênes* are considerably different than those of Chartier's and La Vigne's works, despite their structural similarities. In Marot's *prosimetrum* piece with its 1,306 verses and 100 lines in prose, power rests at first and only tenuously in the domineering female leader Genoa, who is subsequently brought down by her adversaries—her disloyal children, "Noblesse" [Nobility], "Marchandise" [Merchant Class], and "Le Peuple" [The People], and especially her French foe.²² The author of the *Voyage de Gênes* frames his traditional chronicle of Louis XII's victory with an allegorical staging of Genoa's admonishment of her three children, who are uncooperative in supporting her resistance to the French king (vv. 125–267). The attempts of two of Genoa's sons, Merchant Class and The People, to console their mother are checked by "Honte" [Shame], leading to her suicidal state. Following her defeat (vv. 61–106, ll. 39–100), Genoa is rescued through enlightened conversion by "Dame Raison" [Lady Reason], who chases away "Raige" [Rage], "Douleur" [Grief], and "Desespoir" [Despair]. Genoa then enters the "Chambre de Vraye Cognoissance" [Chamber of True Knowledge] where she finds peace, stability, and repose. It is ultimately the influence of Lady Reason that provides the resolution to Genoa's crisis;²³ she is at once an internal abstraction that represents Genoa's coming to her senses, and an external abstraction associated with the judicious rule and protective wisdom of the French savior, Louis XII himself. The allegorically portrayed nervous breakdown and near-suicide of Genoa as a once female ruler, expressed in a funereal scenario of grief and mourning, contrasts dramatically with the straightforward chronicle of the king's triumphant expedition to Genoa also contained in the *Voyage de Gênes*. Thus, the psychological trauma of betrayal and defeat, staged peripherally in Chartier's and La Vigne's works, figures

LA GRACE DE DJEV ROY DE FRANCE A QVJ DJEV DOINT BONNE VJE ET LONGVE ET PARADIS A LA FIN" [Charles the eighth and last of this name, by the grace of God king of France, to whom may God grant a good and long life and Paradise in the end].

²² Whereas the Merchant/Middle Class was absorbed into Chartier's The People as well as into the artistic rendition of La Vigne's I-Don't-Know-Who, it is separately personified by Marot to better reflect the socio-political dynamics of Genoa. At the time the Genoese were divided into the *Mercanti* (*popolo grasso*), the merchant class, the *Artefici* (*popolo minuto*), the artisan class, and the *Nobili*, the noble class (Bridge 1929, p. 266).

²³ Chartier's The Clergy and La Vigne's Good Counsel act as similar voices of reason.



(left) 5.8
Genoa enthroned
before her children,
Merchant Class,
The People,
and Nobility.
Jean Marot, *Le
Voyage de Gênes*,
Paris, BnF, Ms.
fr. 5091, fol. 6r.
Photo BnF.



(right) 5.9
Genoa grieving
as Shame
holds back
her children,
Merchant Class
and The People.
Jean Marot, *Le
Voyage de Gênes*,
Paris, BnF, Ms.
fr. 5091, fol. 27r.
Photo BnF.

centrally in Marot's *Voyage de Gênes* and is hauntingly reproduced in Jean Bourdichon's exquisite miniatures.

Of all the illustrated manuscripts examined here, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5091 presents the most elaborate iconographic reconfiguration of the text in 11 full-page illustrations that depict on the one hand the real-life role of Louis XII and his French forces in the victory over Genoa and, on the other, the fictionalized allegorical narrative. This personified literary performance, created especially for Queen Anne of Brittany, focuses on the emotional drama of Genoa's downfall.²⁴ Six illustrations feature Louis XII and his forces in action in very public spaces: we see the king seated astride his horse outside the gates of Alexandria as he departs for Genoa (fol. 15v), before his vast number of troops gathered on the outskirts of Genoa (fol. 20v), facing urban delegates requesting clemency, and escorted by his entourage through Genoa in triumph (fol. 22v).²⁵ The sharply contrasted staging of the female protagonist in countervailing images is unusual as Genoa is portrayed in Figures 5.8–5.11 in increasingly constricted interior spaces as domineering, then dolorous and depressed, and finally reborn, as she moves from an enthroned position to

²⁴ For a description of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5091, see Trisolini 1974, pp. 56–7; and Avril and Reynaud 1993, p. 303. For a detailed discussion of the cultural and political implications of this work as a central volume in Anne of Brittany's library, see C. Brown 2011, pp. 81–107.

²⁵ For reproductions of these images in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5091, see the BnF's Banque d'images website.



a bedridden state to bended knee, from semi-public council rooms, the first with windows, the second without, to her bedroom and finally to the private sanctuary presumably located near her chamber.

Although Marot does not feature any religious figures in his allegorical scenario, Bourdichon does. Elaborating visually on Marot's text, the artist christianizes Lady Reason by portraying her in the guise of the Virgin Mary, Genoa's savior, in the last two miniatures.²⁶ He thereby considerably refashions the original text, perhaps in a conscious effort to accommodate the tastes of the manuscript's royal female dedicatee, Anne of Brittany.

Gender-Bending Dynamics in the Three Debates

The textual and visual manipulation of power in our three manuscripts implicates the genders of their texts' personified characters. Given the nature of allegory itself, its *mise-en-scène* of abstract nouns whose female or male

(left) 5.10
Genoa, besieged
by Despair,
Shame, and Grief,
contemplates
suicide, but Lady
Reason comes
to chase off her
negative forces.
Jean Marot, *Le
Voyage de Gênes*,
Paris, BnF, Ms.
fr. 5091, fol. 34v.
Photo BnF.

(right) 5.11
Genoa submits to
Lady Reason in
the Chamber of
True Knowledge.
Jean Marot, *Le
Voyage de Gênes*,
Paris, BnF, Ms.
fr. 5091, fol. 37v.
Photo BnF.

²⁶ Although this figure does not resemble other representations of the Virgin Mary by Bourdichon, such as those found in his *Hours of Anne of Brittany* or *Hours of Louis XII*—for example, she does not wear a blue mantle or blue head-covering and appears to have different facial features—the crowned and haloed Lady Reason, dressed in all white apparel in Figure 5.10 and wearing a lavender mantle over her white, gold-trimmed dress in Figure 5.11, rises out of blue clouds, a scenario that denotes her heavenly stature.

status is generally determined by the linguistic gender of their titles, the preponderance of feminine personifications in such works is not, of course, surprising. And yet, some unexpected examples of male/female interplay and forms of gender-bending surface in these three works, more often than not underpinned by the recurring association of female personification allegory with vulnerability and depression and sometimes betrayal. This suggests that the textual and artistic depictions of power in these texts provide evidence of a conscious or unconscious grappling with the idea of female empowerment. France, Lady Christianity, and Genoa all suffer from some form of psychological instability. With Chartier's narrator transferring his agitated state of mind, his struggle between hope and despair, to his protagonist once he enters the threshold of the dream world,²⁷ France enters the scene weeping and shaken as she confronts the destabilizing actions of her sons who embody the kingdom's untenable political crisis. Her disheveled hair and misaligned crown in Figure 5.2 faithfully translate her distraught condition. In addition, Chartier imbues The Knight with a kind of every-knight status, seemingly avoiding the creation of a feminine personification named "La Chevalerie" [Knighthood] or "La Noblesse" [Nobility],²⁸ even though it would have been more consistent with the names he chooses for The Clergy and The People. By placing a masculine Knight rather than a feminine Knighthood on his literary stage, the author portrays the more familiar, imposing version of a French noble, while maintaining the more symmetrical dynamics of three feuding sons displeasing their beleaguered mother, with whom the public is meant to sympathize. Nevertheless, Chartier has France demean her three sons through feminized insults: "O hommes forvoiez du chemin de bonne cognoissance, feminins de couraiges et de meurs, loingtains de vertuz, forlignez de la constance de voz peres" [Oh, you men, who have strayed from the path of goodness, effeminate in your boldness and manners, far from virtue, strangers to your fathers' constancy] (p. 10). This confrontational scenario is faithfully translated by the miniaturist of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24441 (Figure 5.2) in such a way that contemporary readers would probably not have questioned the gender inconstancy of Chartier's personifications.

In La Vigne's *Ressource de la Chrestienté*, different kinds of gender-bending are at work. Like France in the *Quadrilogue invectif*, Lady Christianity takes stage as a physically and psychologically distraught soul, a dolorous, grieving woman who sees herself as victimized by her enemies and abandoned by her allies:

[E]lle estoit tant foulee et tant souillee que c'estoit une pitié de la regarder ... la moitié de sa robe ... luy avoient osté, decipé, gasté, desrompu et emporté tant et tellement que la peau ou du mains la chemise lui paroissoit quasi de toutes pars ... par les grans tribulacions, plains et pleurs qui distilloient par les yeulx de son vis, estoit pale,

²⁷ "Tandis que en ce debat entre espoir et desesperance mon entendement traveilloit" [While my mind struggled during this debate between hope and despair] (p. 7).

²⁸ Neither La Vigne nor Marot hesitates to do so, however.

deffaicte, morte, morne, froide, roide, fade et mate, triste, desconfortee, persuadee,
foulee, troublee et de tous poincts vilipendee.

[She was so bruised and so blemished that it was a pity to look at her ... half of her dress ... had been snatched from her, torn, ruined, ripped, and taken away to such an extent that her skin or at least her undergarment could be seen from almost everywhere ... because of her great tribulations, complaints, and the tears that flowed from her eyes, she was pale, defeated, dead, mournful, cold, stiff, faded and subdued, sad, discomfited, induced, abused, troubled, and from all sides disrespected.]
(ll. 37–47)²⁹

Unlike the disturbing depiction of Chartier's France in Figure 5.2, however, Lady Christianity's portrayal as a composed, well-dressed religious figure in the historiated letters of La Vigne's *Ressource de la Chrestienté* in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687 (Figures 5.3–5.5) diverges significantly from her textual description, although the artist may have meant to depict Christianity's distress discreetly through her widened (swollen?) eyes in Figure 5.3. Nonetheless, rather than soliciting the reader's pity for the dire state of the Eastern Church, like the author himself, the miniaturist avoided reproducing an unsettling portrait of Christianity's suffering, perhaps to concentrate on other figures. Indeed, as the one negative character in the narrative, I-Don't-Know-Who's textual status as the odd man out, who is roundly disparaged by the one positive male personification, Good Counsel, is visually protracted through his depiction as a political cross-dresser in the illuminated letter (Figure 5.5), as we have seen. Emphasizing the objectionable comportment of Charles VIII's political opponents through his more detailed illustration of I-Don't-Know-Who rather than focusing on an elaborate interpretation of Lady Christianity may explain the artist's motivation, a decision that, in the end, bolstered the author's general aim of attracting support for the king's military expedition while pleasing his dedicatee.

But it is the figure of Royal Majesty who dominates the scene and is accorded the most textual and visual power by La Vigne and the miniaturist of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687. She is the centrally positioned enthroned figure in five of the debate images (see Figures 5.4–5.5) and leads her cohort off stage right in another. Royal Majesty's militaristic speech at the end of the work signals her readiness to take up arms in defense of Christianity and her decision is fervently championed by Nobility. Indeed, the distinction between the vulnerable female figure of Christianity and her two strong female supporters—all of whom the audience is meant to sympathize with—is the lack of physical and moral power to take action. In the end, however, Royal Majesty is an ambiguous—one might even say androgynous—authority figure who promises to protect a political institution governed by men (the Church) but personified by a woman, thanks to the support of another allegorical female (Nobility) who symbolizes the very male courtiers surrounding the king in the manuscript's dedication scene (Figure 5.6). And

²⁹ See also vv. 253–7.

yet, while Christianity's rescuer, Royal Majesty, wields the most power in the narrative, her imposing status as a female is repeatedly undermined by the ever-present textual (acrostics) and visual incursion of her alter ego, Charles VIII, in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687. In addition, on numerous occasions several characters, including Lady Christianity, directly address Royal Majesty as (male) king: "estes le roy,/ Le plus noble de terriffique arroy,/ Le plus puissant qui portast onc couronne ..." [you are the king, the most noble with daunting power, the most powerful who was ever crowned] (vv. 645–7).³⁰ Thus, the historical male figure of power essentially upstages the fictional female who is supposedly the embodiment of strength, influence, and decisive judgment.

Different kinds of gender distortions characterize the *Voyage de Gênes* where Genoa's children and subjects, Nobility, Merchant Class, and The People, are all textually and visually depicted as males—her sons—despite the fact that only The People is of the masculine grammatical gender.³¹ Bourdichon has followed the author's linguistic lead in depicting Nobility and Merchant Class (as well as The People) in masculine bodies. Only when they fail to stand up for her against the French king does Genoa, like her counterpart in the *Quadrilogue invectif*, degrade two of her children (Merchant Class and The People) by using derogatory feminized insults as she calls her spineless sons "O lasches cueurs, effeminez enfans" [Oh cowardly souls, effeminate children] (v. 1008).³² This cowardice is visually reflected in their relocation from positions flanking their mother (Figure 5.8) to stances evoking their disconnection from (and betrayal of) her, conveyed through Shame's obstruction of their movement and the fact that neither son touches the carpet extending from Genoa's throne (Figure 5.9).

By contrast, Genoa, as the reproachful mother and enemy ruler, retains the feminine grammatical form of her name and the association of the female sex with debility that characterizes all three works. The text of the *Voyage de Gênes* recounts and Figures 5.9–5.10 underline how she repeatedly breaks into tears and experiences fainting spells, laments her fate, and suffers fits of despair that lead her to near-suicide. The pejoratively labeled Shame, who precipitates Genoa's depression (through association with her two cowardly sons) and sends her into a state of deep grief, also maintains her female status textually and visually. So too do Rage and Grief who also participate in this mourning process. Only one male figure, the monstrous old Despair, contributes to Genoa's depression; he is associated with suicide

³⁰ See also Nobility's and Good Counsel's "mistaken" masculine references in vv. 744–51, 1275–82. At one point the Acteur himself adopts masculine pronouns in referring to Nobility (l. 165). See also vv. 1267, 1272, where La Vigne (mistakenly?) uses masculine adjectives to describe Royal Majesty.

³¹ The narrator refers to Genoa's children as sons in vv. 114–15.

³² From the French perspective, Genoa's children demonstrate less offensive behavior than their mother vis-à-vis the French by cooperating with the foreign ruler: Nobility betrays "his" mother by playing the role of France's ally from the start (vv. 51–72, 133–64), whereas Merchant Class and The People eventually and easily surrender to the French (v. 1017).

and insanity in a rather terrifying description (ll. 60–71) that Bourdichon faithfully reproduces (Figure 5.10).

Thus, not only are gender lines readily crossed by author and artist for political expediency in the *Voyage de Gênes* through the portrayal of Merchant Class and Nobility as males, but female figures in the work have essentially little redeeming value—until Reason makes her brief appearance visualized in the guise of the Virgin Mary at the end. Her celestial emergence through a wall opening above the fray (Figures 5.10–5.11), Bourdichon’s novel interpretation of Marot’s more rationally centered character, highlights her uniqueness. And yet, although depicted in accordance with the feminine gender of her name by author and artist alike, in the text Reason is implicitly associated with Louis XII, that is, with masculine victory, through the juxtaposition of outcomes in the unadorned historical account (Genoa submits to the king’s authority) and in the allegorized scenario (Genoa submits to Reason). Was this parallel staging, essentially lost in the artistic rendition, an unconscious reminder of the conventional medieval alliance of males with reason and females with emotions?

Like her two other female counterparts, then, the debilitated female figure Genoa is associated with diminished authority, mourning, and depression. Unlike France and Lady Christianity, however, Genoa is not meant to attract the public’s sympathy, since Marot aims to justify and celebrate Louis XII’s victorious assault on and entry into Genoa in his work, rendering his protagonist’s literary status all the more ambiguous.

Conclusion

Even though our three debate texts cover a broad chronological period from the early fifteenth century to the early sixteenth century, allegorical construction is repeatedly and persistently adopted and adapted in surprisingly similar configurations by the authors of the *Quadrilogue invectif*, the *Ressource de la Chrestienté*, and the *Voyage de Gênes* to translate contemporary political crises and emotional dysfunction. While these literary scenarios of interaction differ according to the particular struggles of different historical eras, allegorical drama proves to be a remarkably versatile tool because it facilitates the semi-fictional staging of events on political, sociological, and psychological levels. Allegory also has the capacity to simultaneously create abstractions out of observable examples of human conflict—perhaps in an effort to remain less offensive?—and to make the abstract concrete and recognizable to contemporary readers. These staged allegories frequently embody certain expectations regarding their outcomes, with the audience often discovering some form of resolution. Although a specific judgment is essentially lacking in the *Quadrilogue invectif*, the *Ressource de la Chrestienté* and the *Voyage de Gênes* provide increasingly decisive resolutions.

Not only are the allegorical resolutions in La Vigne's (fol. 42v) and Marot's (see Figure 5.11) debates visually and even theatrically translated by their miniaturists, iconographical decisions that reinforce these critical political outcomes, but the artistic rendering of the three polemical dramas also faithfully reproduces their authors' gender-bending elements, without calling attention to grammatical gender discrepancies. At the same time, despite a few instances of artistic license, such as the portrayal of I-Don't-Know-Who in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687 and Bourdichon's rendition of Lady Reason in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5091, the three miniature programs generally tend to interpret the authors' staging of the grieving female protagonist in relation to the forces at work in each text in accurate, although sometimes more elaborate, fashion.

The psychological drama of these three political allegories is more or less intense depending on the manner in which the author displays power and weakness. While France's profound agitation sets the stage in the *Quadrilogue invectif* for the ensuing debate in both literary and artistic terms, further development of her mental state is in fact absent from the textual confrontation between mother and sons that follows. What we witness instead is a general lack of authoritative initiative among all parties, a stalemate subtly depicted by The Clergy's and The People's defiantly folded arms and the debaters' complete lack of visual contact in Figure 5.2. In striking contrast, La Vigne's Royal Majesty, the major literary and iconographic figure of the allegorical world of the *Ressource de la Chrestienté*, reacts with such commanding influence and authority to Christianity's lack of defensive power by aggressively offering military support (just as Good Counsel rhetorically demolishes I-Don't-Know-Who's voiced opposition), that psychological considerations disappear: the audience is led to believe that Christianity's initial emotional and physical vulnerability will shortly be reversed. Could this explain the artist's unexpected static depiction of the textually distraught Christianity?

It is Marot's Genoa who is made to submit to the most intense version of psychological trauma—in both textual and iconographical terms—as she descends from a domineering enthroned ruler to a weeping and grieving mother betrayed by her sons and overcome with Shame, to a psychotic bedridden woman so haunted by Rage, Grief, and Despair that she contemplates suicide, and finally to a submissive former power on bended knee who embraces Reason, that is, acquiesces to her invader's dominance. Bourdichon elaborates upon this downward mental spiral in the two superb miniatures examined above (Figures 5.9–5.10) in which the very rooms inhabited by Genoa personify her grief through striking swaths of black material strewn with tears that cover the throne, the walls, and the bedding. In the end, the powerful male figure in the *Voyage de Gênes* is not constructed through allegory. Representing a stage of development that builds perhaps on the invasive function of Charles VIII into the allegorical world of the *Ressource de la Chrestienté* as it is reproduced in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1687,

Louis XII takes stage in his own historical body in the *Voyage de Gênes*, in conspicuous textual and visual contrast to the female personified Genoa he has conquered. He is the most militaristic authority of all three works, one with whom the reader's sympathy is supposed to lie.

Thus, our three authors and artists have staged and allegorized increasingly aggressive military policies over time: France's defensive posture of advice to self-regulate and avoid internal dissension in the *Quadrilogue invectif* gives way to a message of counsel that supports Charles VIII's offensive military posture and projected campaign into foreign lands in the *Ressource de la Chrestienté*, presented, of course, in the name of French honor and duty. With the *Voyage de Gênes*, the reader is implicitly asked not only to sympathize with but to glorify France's aggression against Genoa.

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The Wolf, the Shepherd, and the Whale: Critiquing the King Through Metaphor in the Reign of Louis XI

Lydwine Scordia

Résumé français: *La forme métaphorique reste un des moyens les plus opérants au XV^e siècle pour traiter du pouvoir, le définir, l'idéaliser, ou le critiquer, car elle donne aux auteurs une distance propice à la liberté de parole. Le règne singulier du roi de France, Louis XI (1461–83) a suscité de nombreuses réactions sur sa manière tyrannique de gouverner, exprimées dans des métaphores animalières. Loin d'être le berger de son troupeau, Louis XI a été comparé par ses contemporains (Pierre Choinet, Georges Chastellain, Jean Molinet, Jean Meschinot ou Jean du Prier, dit le Prieur) à un faux berger, un loup, une araignée, une sirène, un monstre marin ... Autant d'images reprises dans les manuscrits enluminés, qui rompent avec la représentation idéale du roi de justice.*

Up to the fifteenth century, the pastoral metaphor was one of the most effective means of treating, defining, idealizing, or criticizing the powers that be, but it was not the only one. The organic metaphor also expressed one of the most important political and social conceptions in the medieval period, namely, the hierarchy of the different “limbs” or members of the body politic and their interdependence which was crucial for the body’s survival. Each of these metaphors was inspired by ancient and biblical models that had been reinterpreted and updated for the medieval era. These metaphors establish a distance between the author and his subject matter that authorizes certain liberties. In particular, the reign of Louis XI, king of France from 1461 to 1483, provoked reactions from the political commentators of the day who used the pastoral metaphor in both textual and visual form as a way to express their aspirations, their fears, and even their rejection of the king. Contemporaries, whether they served the king, such as Pierre Choinet in his *Livre des trois âges*, or those figures who switched their political allegiances from one side to another, such as Philippe de Commines in his *Mémoires* who left the service of the Burgundians for the French king, or men who remained loyal to the Burgundian princes, such as Georges Chastellain and Jean Molinet, or to the

Breton dukes, such as Jean Meschinot, all contributed to the discussion of power and justice under Louis XI.

What, then, was the definition of justice given in Choinet's text? In what ways did the ideal of justice that he outlined differ from the historical reality of Louis XI's actual reign? How far did Choinet's view of the king offer a contrast with that propounded by his contemporaries (Molinet, Jean du Prier) when they conducted their critiques, using various animal metaphors?

Power and Justice in the *Livre des trois âges*

Weakened by disease, and isolated in Plessis-lès-Tours after 1481, Louis XI looked for all possible means by which to extend his life, including the taking of "merveilleuses medecines" [strange drugs], according to the words of Jean de Roye, lawyer of the Châtelet (Paris) and secretary of John II, duke of Bourbon, author of the *Chronique scandaleuse*.¹ After 22 years as ruler, marked by ceaseless conflicts with England, Burgundy, and the princes of the French kingdom, Louis XI was proud to have "augmenté et accru la couronne" [increased and expanded the crown], as he says with solemnity in his will of September, 1482, having annexed Artois, Burgundy, Roussillon, Provence, and Anjou to the French kingdom at the price of an extraordinary, if not downright tyrannical, domestic policy. Louis XI raised taxes by 400 percent, ordered forced marriages, forcibly moved urban populations, and persecuted princes by means of trumped-up court cases and trials.

It is in this context that Pierre Choinet (1411–83/4), who lived in Rouen, and was both doctor (1466) and astrologer to the king (1470), dedicated to him a luxurious manuscript consisting of 19 folios: *Le Livre des trois âges* (Paris, BnF, Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 70).² In this text, which comprises 621 verses and was decorated with 12 miniatures painted by the Master of the Echevinage of Rouen (the town in which both author and artist lived), Choinet assesses the king's reign and seeks to distinguish Louis XI the man from his royal function in order to prepare him for his general confession *in articulo mortis*. In the typical style of the time, Choinet addresses a number of spiritual, political, educational, and military themes in a variety of ways and divides his text up according to the order of the different stages of life ("Jeunesse," "Virilité," and "Vieillesse" [Youth, Mature Age, Old Age]), which thus give the poem its title. What emerges from reading the *Livre des trois âges* is that justice is one of the major themes which underpins both the poem and some of the illuminations, a theme which the author develops through various learned allusions and metaphors.

¹ Mandrot 1894–96, vol. 2, p. 138.

² All quotations from this text are from the facsimile edition in Scordia 2009, and all translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.

Choinet begins by reaffirming a fundamental law of kingship: that power is willed by God (vv. 479–82) and exercised by the king whose essential function is justice. The doctor/astrologer defines the meaning of justice with reference to both theological and legal arguments. First, theological: justice is one of the four cardinal virtues (vv. 228–9), along with prudence, temperance, and strength. These virtues are cardinal, in the etymological sense of the word *cardo* (meaning a major axis of Roman roads). The cardinal virtues are the backbone of the moral virtues like wisdom or humility. The second of these arguments is taken from the legal sphere: in v. 480 of the poem, it is said that justice consists of preserving every person's rights. This verse is a transposition of the definition of justice in the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Justinian's legal compilation, rediscovered in the Latin West from the twelfth century)³ which states: "Justitia est perpetua et constans voluntas suum unicuique tribuendi" [justice is the constant and perpetual will to attribute to each what is due to him]. The sentence occurs in both the *Digest* (*Dig.*1.1.10) and the *Institutes* (*Inst.*1.1.1).⁴ Thus the king sits on the throne of justice and dissipates any malice with his gaze: "Le roy seant au throne de justice,/ S'il veult que en paix, corps politique dure,/ Par son regart dissipe tout malice" (vv. 464–6), states Choinet, alluding here to a verse from Proverbs (Prov. 20:8):⁵ "The king, that sitteth on the throne of judgment, scattereth away all evil with his look."⁶

The applications of justice affect all the domains of the royal function in the *Livre des trois âges*: political, social, judicial, fiscal, and military. Pierre Choinet devotes different verses to each of these functions and illustrates them by using both the organic and pastoral metaphors, each of which is also put into pictorial form by the Master of the Echevinage of Rouen. The first aspect of justice that Choinet discusses is political. Royal justice consists of keeping the body politic in a state of harmony (vv. 84, 428–54), peace (vv. 465, 478), and prosperity (v. 467). As Choinet puts it: "Le roy sur tous garde de mauvaistié/ Tous les estas" [The king preserves all his subjects and estates from evil] (vv. 433–4). The second aspect regards political and social justice. Choinet invites the reader to study the nature of the body politic and compares it with the body of a living man (vv. 79–81, 435–54, 465, 467–8, 472, 487, 694). In this body, the head is the clergy (vv. 37, 443), the heart is the king (vv. 82, 85, 441, 445, 447, 455, 460), the members (arms, hands, legs, and feet) are the nobility (vv. 84, 456–7, 469–73, 488), and the liver is the

³ This compilation comprises the *Code*, a selection of imperial legal enactments; the *Digest*, an encyclopedia composed of mostly brief extracts from the writings of Roman jurists; the *Institutes*, a student textbook; and the *Novellae*, a further set of legal enactments that was added later to the original three parts.

⁴ For editions of these two works, see Mommsen et al. 1912–20.

⁵ In the Psalms, the king and justice are combined: "Honor regis iudicium diligit" [The king's honour loveth judgment] (Ps. 98:4). On this subject, see Sassier 2002.

⁶ Pierre Choinet had already used this reference in the *Rosier des guerres*, which he wrote for the heir apparent, Charles, the future Charles VIII, in 1477 (I am currently preparing a critical edition of this text).

commoners (vv. 451–4), with the reference to this particular organ revealing the author's medical profession as he states that: "Le foie pour tous prepare et fait toute la nourriture" [The liver prepares nourishment for all] (vv. 451–2). In this body, each part has a specific and orderly function (vv. 428–38), according to a strict hierarchy which guarantees social harmony (vv. 84, 428–38). Justice, as upheld by the king, consists of irrigating the body, just as the heart does which sustains all life (vv. 84, 455–6), and of removing harmful members (vv. 473, 505–6, 534–8). As regards the judicial function of the king, the third aspect on the list, the *Livre des trois âges* tells us that within the kingdom, the king watches over the good (v. 505) and punishes the bad without flinching (vv. 523–38). Expressed by means of the pastoral metaphor, the king-shepherd separates the sick sheep from the rest of the flock (vv. 278–9). In terms of the organic metaphor, the king has to cut off the harmful limb (vv. 469–78, 487–90, 506–10), even if it is the hand (v. 474), this being the part of the body that Pierre Choinet had identified with the nobility (vv. 447–50). The fourth aspect regards fiscal justice. This is embodied by the king-shepherd in the first miniature (Figure 6.1) that illustrates the pastoral metaphor (fol. 9v, vv. 272–5, 559) in which the shepherd represents the king, the sheep represent the people, their wool represents the money, the scissors represent the means by which the taxes are being collected, and the basket represents the treasury. The lesson of these four verses is clear: justifiable taxes must be regular, annual, and proportionate. Pierre Choinet does not spell this out in straightforward language but rather expresses it figuratively in the verses below the picture: "Une fois l'an, fait bon ses brebis tondre/ En la saison, sans du cuir escorcher,/ Car trop souvent les peult faire morfondre,/ Et sans le cuir, layne ne croist sur chair" [Once a year, it is good to shear sheep, at the proper time, without harming them, because shearing too often risks hurting them, and without skin, wool cannot grow] (vv. 272–5). Fiscal abuses inflict suffering on the people and cause them to become impoverished which, eventually, might lead the revenue from taxes to dry up altogether. "Too much tax destroys taxation," or, as Choinet puts it, "Sans le cuir, layne ne croist sur chair" [without skin, wool cannot grow] (v. 275). The fifth and final point is about military justice. The end of the poem is dedicated to the question of war where Choinet rehearses the conditions that justify war (vv. 551–70).⁷ The right to wage war presupposes that the king has discussed it at length with his counselors, that the war is mainly defensive as the shepherd has to guard the sheep from the wolf's attacks (vv. 41, 278–9), and that the war will be financed as little as possible by the people since money must be won from the enemy: "Supposé donc que justice se face/ Et que l'en ait bon droit de guerre faire" [If justice rules and if we have the right to wage war] (vv. 551–2). In sum, the work of the king consists of guarding the kingdom and preserving everyone's rights (v. 480). These are the necessary preconditions for ensuring the longevity of the

⁷ For a discussion of the nature of just war, see Chapter 2, this volume.



Une fois l'an fait bon ses brebis tondre.
 En la saison sans du cuir escorcher.
 Car trop souvent les peult faire morfondre.
 Et sans le cuir / l'ayne ne avist sur chair.

6.1 The king as shepherd. Pierre Choinet, *Le Livre des trois âges*, Paris, BnF, Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 70, fol. 9v. Scordia 2009, p. 136. Photo by author.

kingship (v. 465) and the means by which the legitimacy of his beneficent rule is proven. Kingship lasts while tyranny is short-lived, as Aristotle said in the *Politics* (V, 11), a view to which his medieval readers readily subscribed.⁸

The Reign of Louis XI: Ideal and Reality

Like any treatise on good government, the *Livre des trois âges* mixes praise and blame under the guise of presenting an ideal. As was standard for the times, Choinet's praise does not necessarily mean that his assessment is wholeheartedly positive: praise can very well be a subtle way to incite the prince to govern wisely. How, then, does the author distinguish between ideal and reality using the organic and pastoral metaphors in his illuminated poem? How do the miniatures accompanying the text express these same ideas through visual language?

Turning first to the organic metaphor, it is clear that the poem reflects a communitarian vision of political society which is formed by parts that are directed to a particular end and which is managed by a single person. Depending on the historical period in question, this figure is either the head ["caput"], as in John of Salisbury's stipulation,⁹ or the heart ["cor"], as in Giles of Rome's recommendation.¹⁰ Choinet prefers the heart. This choice on his part should not surprise us as the author was a doctor who had learned at university the conventional view as expounded by Avicenna that the heart was created before the brain or the liver. Ideal and reality thus work together when hierarchy is combined with complementarity: "Tout cestui corps politique d'un regne/ Est figuré par corps d'homme vivant,/ Dont le roy est le cuer qui tout gouverne,/ Et hault et bas, et derriere et devant" [The whole body politic of the kingdom is compared to a man's living body whose king is the heart which governs everything: high and low, and behind and in front] (vv. 439–42). In Choinet's analysis, the heart is in the middle of the body, like the sun's position in the macrocosm, a view of rulership which Louis XI himself would echo in 1475 when he ordered a small hairy sun to be put at the top of the reverse side of gold and silver coins.¹¹ Effectively, the king is eager for information and intervenes in all domains of policy: everything interests him and everything for him has its part to play in the government of the kingdom.

To preserve a healthy body, Choinet, speaking as the king's doctor, recommends cutting off the harmful member (vv. 472–5), amputation being the only means by which to preserve the health of the body: "Pour ung mauvais plusieurs souffrent souvent,/ Par pluffort plus quant mauvais multiplient" [because of one bad man, several often suffer, and even more so when there

⁸ Pellegrin 1990, pp. 396–7. On the praise of longevity, see Scordia 2005b.

⁹ Text cited from Webb 1909, vol. 1, V, 2, pp. 282–3.

¹⁰ Giles of Rome 1556, I, 2, 11, fol. 46v.

¹¹ Boudet 2004.

is more than just one bad man] (vv. 535–6). Indeed, this idea of doing away with the bad is advocated in the Bible (Matt. 5:29–30; Rom. 13:1), in treatises of good government such as John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (V, 8) and Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* (I, 2, 11), and in theological summas such as that of Thomas Aquinas (*Ila, Ilae*, q. 11, a. 3; 64, a. 2 and 5; 65, a. 1),¹² all of which justify the use of the death penalty in order to guarantee the survival of the community. Through the proper exercise of justice (v. 476), good judges make the wicked “baler au vent” [blow in the wind] on the gibbet, writes Choinet (v. 538).

Louis XI did not doubt that he had the power of life and death over his subjects, and he did not hesitate to cut off the hand if he considered that it was damaging the body. For Choinet, this hand symbolizes the nobility which has the task of guarding the body (vv. 437, 448) and obeying the heart (v. 447). If it does not fulfill this double mission, and if it harms the body, it must be amputated. The poem thus confirms the royal policy of eliminating harmful princes (v. 474), who were charged with *lèse-majesté*. During the League of the Public Weal in 1465 in particular, which openly pitted the princes against the king, but in fact throughout the king's reign, in spite of the good pensions paid by the king to the princes and the oaths of fealty that they had pronounced on relics, princes were in conflict with the king, who not only beat them but outlived them all: the princes were either killed on the battlefield (Charles the Bold in 1477); executed (Nemours in 1477); or died from natural causes (René d'Anjou in 1480).¹³ At the time Choinet was writing, various political trials were being held: Charles de Melun (1468); the second trial of Jean II, duke of Alençon (1474); Louis of Luxembourg, count of Saint-Pol (1475);¹⁴ Jacques d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours (1476–7);¹⁵ and René, duke of Alençon (1481–2).¹⁶ There were 20 trials in total, not counting the posthumous trials such as that of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy in 1478, practically all of which were those brought against the princes. The interrogations that took place during the political trials in the reign of Louis XI reveal the climate of mutual fear and hatred between the king and the princes. They also show the very real opposition that was being mounted to the king's rule on the part of the various princes as well as the extent to which the king was determined to quash this opposition. To eliminate his enemies, Louis XI preferred the procedure of the commission rather than letting the Parlement perform its judicial function, since his aim was to act swiftly and definitively. To go against the king is to go against God, declares

¹² See Thomas Aquinas 1963, pp. 83–4; 411–12 and 414–16; 420–421.

¹³ Leveleux-Teixeira and Ribémont 2010.

¹⁴ Blanchard 2008.

¹⁵ Blanchard 2012.

¹⁶ The political trials of the reign of Louis XI are in the process of being published: that of René, duke of Alençon, count of Perche, edited by François Bouvier des Noës is forthcoming with the Société de l'Histoire de France (SHF), as is that of Charles de Melun, edited by Claude Gauvard and Olivier Mattéoni.

Choinet (v. 482). The divine majesty is at stake when the king is attacked. *Lèse-majesté* was indeed one element in the lists of indictments produced during the political trials, even if it was not systematically used by the king. Louis XI was thus very far from being considered as a shepherd by his own subjects.

Having examined how Choinet uses the organic metaphor in order to distinguish between ideal and reality in the reign of Louis XI, we need now to turn to his deployment of the pastoral metaphor for this same purpose. Like many other writers before him, Choinet identifies the king with the shepherd in his analysis which is accompanied in the manuscript by a series of four pastoral miniatures. For Homer, kings are the shepherds of their people, a view echoed in the Old Testament which says that Yahweh is the shepherd (Ps. 23; 76:21; 80:2) and that Moses and David were shepherds before becoming a prophet or the king of Israel, as well as in the New Testament where Christ is called the Good Shepherd (John 10:16; Matt. 28:11–4; and Luke 5:4–7).¹⁷ The shepherd-king protects, nourishes, gathers in, and looks after his flock (Figure 6.1). Simple and watchful, the shepherd represents the one who never stops working (v. 37). On this last point, the shepherd of the poem and that of the miniatures in the manuscript of Choinet's text are made to refer to Louis XI, who is presented as being forever alert, watchful, and awake.¹⁸ The miniature reinforces the textual description of the shepherd who has to let his flock graze (v. 287). During the reign, the king of France duly respects the oaths of coronation by working for the prosperity of the kingdom as Louis XI preoccupied himself with trade and with his subjects' supply of grain.¹⁹ On these criteria, Choinet is being positive in his assessment of Louis XI's reign. Prosperity is shown bursting forth in numerous scenes of the *Livre des trois âges*, such as in the four miniatures of hunting (fols. 5r, 6r, 7r, 8r), an activity which was often used as a conventional symbol of peace since it cannot take place in time of war (Figure 6.2); as well as in the pastoral miniatures (fols. 11v, 12r), where we discern in the background a rich kingdom featuring a sprawling, prosperous city with boats at anchor (Figure 6.3), which may be a reference to either Tours, where Louis XI lived, or Rouen, where both Choinet and the Master of the Echevinage lived.

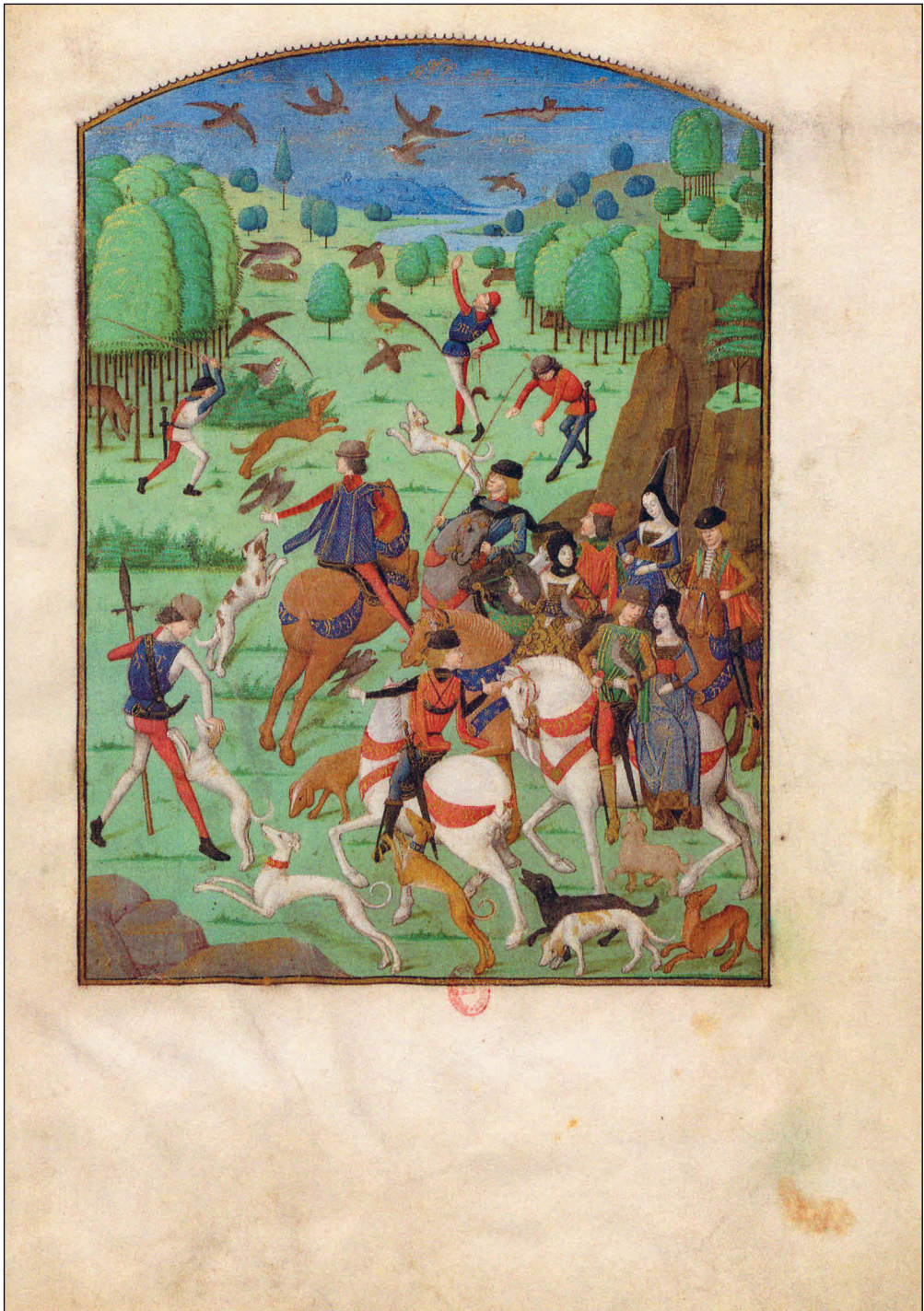
As regards the tax system, however, Choinet's net assessment of the king's reign is negative. The shepherd-king of the miniature (Figure 6.1) who is shearing the sheep is certainly not Louis XI, but an ideal model presented to the heir apparent, Charles, the future Charles VIII. In reality, Louis XI did not shear his subjects once but rather several times a year. These were called officially *crues de taille*—as in river floods—that is to say, that they were overflowing, excessive.²⁰ To be justifiable, a tax at this

¹⁷ Senellart 1995, pp. 165–7.

¹⁸ In Philippe de Comynes' view, the king's whole life was nothing but one long series of troubles and travails: see Blanchard 2001, p. 481.

¹⁹ See Gandilhon 1941; and Contamine et al. 1993.

²⁰ Lassalmonie 2002.



6.2 Praise of the prosperity of the kingdom. Pierre Choinet, *Le Livre des trois âges*, Paris, BnF, Ms. Smith-Lesoüef 70, fol. 5r. Scordia 2009, p. 127. Photo by author.



Se le pastour ne feust sous si apoint.
 Ce mauvais loup nous eust fait grant meschief.
 Avec bons chiens fait lon avoir bon chief.
 Vieux et hardi et qui ne dorme point.

6.3 Praise of the prosperity of the kingdom. Pierre Choinet, *Le Livre des trois âges*,
 Paris, BnF, Ms. Smith-Lesoüef 70, fol. 12r. Scordia 2009, p. 141. Photo by author.

time had to be prescribed by the royal power, could be raised only for a just cause (mainly the defense of the kingdom), be levied on persons and taxable properties, and be proportionate.²¹ Of these four conditions, Louis XI really only fulfilled the first one; as for the others, the royal abuses were blatant since he used every possible means in order to perform the trick of the “boîte à l’enchanteur” [magician’s box] and fill the royal coffers.²² His subjects thus tried to buy time, to negotiate, to delay, and to resist the king’s efforts in this direction.

However, as for judicial practice within the kingdom, Choinet approves of the royal persecution of enemies and blasphemers (vv. 446, 474, 529, 538). It is not to be doubted that, in Choinet’s mind, a crime once committed risks leading to other crimes, just as a sick person risks contaminating those who are healthy. In other words, for Choinet and other medieval political commentators, crime is endemic and is likely at any time to turn into an epidemic, especially when the contaminated person is part of the community, as in the case of the king’s officers. In a society which believed in deterrence more than in treaties or speeches, the criminal is perceived as the incarnation of evil itself and the potential starting point of an epidemic of crimes such as murders. In concrete terms, in Choinet’s view, this conception of crime when expressed in terms of society as a “flock” necessitates the shepherd separating the bad sheep from the good (vv. 278–9). From the beginning of Louis XI’s reign, in 1461, fiscal revolts were severely punished, out of all proportion to the gravity of the actual revolts themselves.²³ The inhabitants had hoped for some relief from taxation after the hard years of Charles VII’s reign, but there was no respite offered to them by his successor. The king was determined to impose his will and so ordered these revolts to be put down with visible and exemplary severity. As Louis XI himself wrote on this subject in May 1474 to Ymbert de Batarnay, his counselor and chamberlain: “Je vous prie que vous en fassiez si griève punition que les autres en prennent exemple” [Please exact a severe enough punishment to set an example].²⁴ The forms of punishment which the king ordered were not only aimed at punishing the culprits but also at striking the community and at intimidating his subjects. Yet, Louis XI did not separate the bad sheep from the good in any systematic fashion, as Choinet encourages him to do in the poem (v. 278), because he sometimes deliberately allowed the bad to prosper, if it was in his own interest to do so, as in the case of Olivier le Daim, the king’s barber

²¹ Scordia 2005a, pp. 90–116.

²² In the words of Louis XI in a letter of January 1471 to Jean Bourré, his right-hand man throughout his reign: “trouvez de l’argent en la boîte à l’enchanteur pour ce qui sera nécessaire, et qu’il n’y ait faute” [find money out of the magician’s box for all our needs, without fail] (Vaësen et al. 1883–1909, vol. 4, p. 184). See also Lassalmonie 2002.

²³ In Angers, these revolts were known as the “Tricoterie” (from the word “tricot” meaning “cudgel”), and in Rheims as the “Miquemaque” (from the word “mutemaque” meaning “rebellion”).

²⁴ Vaësen et al. 1883–1909, vol. 7, pp. 253–6.

and one of his counselors.²⁵ The quatrain on fol. 9v of the *Livre des trois âges* is thus a criticism of the king's reign on these grounds.

The question of justice in foreign affairs is also discussed by Choinet through use of the pastoral metaphor. Foreign threats proliferated under Louis XI, and there were unending conflicts particularly with England and Burgundy until the truces and the peace of the years 1475–82. In the pastoral metaphor, a sheep is slain by the wolf (fol. 11v), and the flock incriminates the shepherd who, in turn, accuses the dog. On fol. 12r, the sheep raise their voices again to spell out the lesson: the shepherd has appeared in time to kill the wolf (v. 284), but where was he when the danger was imminent? The flock then formulates the wish that their leader should be a valiant, fearless knight, and that he should not fall asleep (vv. 286–7). In this story, the failings of the shepherd (the king) are made abundantly clear, as are those of the watchdog (the army), who is theoretically in charge of defending the sheep (the subjects) against the wolf (the enemy). The Master of the Echevinage of Rouen depicts a dark-colored watchdog, which not only fails to go after the wolf but actually hides behind the shepherd (fol. 11v). An attack on the army and a critique of Louis XI would seem to be the obvious lesson to be drawn here from Choinet's allegory. The wolves can therefore be read, perhaps, as the English, who were traditionally represented as attacking French "lambs" at that time, as, for example, in the final stanza of Georges Chastellain's *Thrône azuré*, which praises the house of France after the reconquest of Normandy (1449–50): "Et vous, Anglois, tirans du bien publique,/ Murdriers de peuple, engloutisseurs de vies,/ Loups affamés de faim dyabolique" [And you, Englishmen, who are against the public good, killing people, destroying lives, you hungry wolves full of diabolical hunger],²⁶ or in Robert Gaguin's *Compendium*.²⁷

Covert and Overt Critiques of Louis XI: The King in Animal Metaphor

Choinet, in the *Livre des trois âges*, thus identifies the shepherd as the king and the wolf as the foreign enemy. However, many of his contemporaries, particularly those writing at the Burgundian court, developed the pastoral metaphor which he had deployed in order to offer more disturbing variations on this allegorical theme as part of their critique of Louis XI's reign. In their writings, they attack the king by showing what happens when the wolf is disguised as the shepherd or, worse still, when the shepherd himself becomes the wolf. Some of these same writers also went even further in their works, discussing Louis XI in terms of animal metaphors that were

²⁵ Olivier le Daim is condemned by Robert Gobin in *Les loups ravissants*: see Chapter 9, this volume, for a more detailed discussion of this figure.

²⁶ Text cited from Lettenhove 1863–66, vol. 6, p. 138.

²⁷ See Gaguin 1500–01, fols. 53r, 122r.

unequivocally negative and desacralizing so as to condemn him as a tyrant in all but name. We will deal with each of these cases in turn.

THE KING AS WOLF AND AS FALSE SHEPHERD

At the court of Burgundy, as at that of Brittany, the poets known as the “Grands rhétoriciens,” namely, Georges Chastellain, Jean Molinet, and Jean Meschinot, set out the traditional conception of kingship, whereby the king, shepherd of God, chosen by God to serve and not by his own volition, is responsible before God for all acts good or bad committed in his kingdom. The ruler’s task is thus to administer harsh justice against the wicked and to shear the sheep when necessary, as Meschinot points out in his *Lunettes des princes*.²⁸ However, when a wolf is placed as governor over the flock, as the same author (Meschinot) laments in his poem, *Le Prince*, written in response to Chastellain,²⁹ or when the wolf is disguised as a shepherd, as Molinet complains in the *Débat du leup et du mouton*,³⁰ great trouble for the sheep ensues, and this is exactly the situation of the kingdom of France as described by these authors. In their texts, the king is sometimes a wolf and sometimes a false sheep, but the worst-case scenario is when the bad king pretends to be a shepherd.

In an allegorized chronicle, the *Songe du Pastourel*, Jean du Prier (d. ca. 1490), poet of Lorraine at the court of René II, bemoans the occupation of the duchy of Lorraine by Charles the Bold.³¹ The manuscript of this text (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2556) that belonged to Antoine, René II’s son, dates from 1515 and contains 69 watercolor drawings by Hugues de La Faye. Through use of the pastoral allegory, we see the “pastourel” [young shepherd] René II and his flock who are being threatened by the lion Charles the Bold, call out to the “grant pastour” [great shepherd] Louis XI for help (p. 99, vv. 137–44).³² René II then pays tribute to the “grant pastour” Louis XI (Figure 6.4) and comes to ask him for his help (p. 99, vv. 145–6). However, the promised help does not arrive. The “great shepherd” is in fact a false shepherd who exploits the flock instead of serving it. These verses would have recalled to the medieval reader’s mind lessons from the Bible, especially those from the book of Ezekiel (Ezek. 22:27; 34:2), the book of Micah (Mic. 3:3) or the Gospel of Saint Matthew (Matt. 7:15) which state that nothing good will come of leaders who physically oppress and crush the people. These biblical imprecations clearly suggest that the wolf should be read as referring to the tyrant.

Yet, despite the terrible government of Louis XI, writers such as Molinet persisted in preferring to use the covert form of critique that animal metaphor

²⁸ For an edition of this text, see Martineau-Génieys 1972.

²⁹ Text cited from Lettenhove 1863–66, vol. 7, p. 478.

³⁰ Text cited from Dupire 1936–39, vol. 2, pp. 656–69.

³¹ Text cited from Déprez-Masson 1988, pp. 93–132. See also Brachmann 2006.

³² See the reproductions of this manuscript in Brachmann 2005, pp. 253–84.

6.4 "Le pastourel" [René II of Lorraine] asking for help from the "Grant Pastour" [Louis XI]. Jean du Prier, *dit "le Prieur," Le Songe du Pastourel*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2556, fol. 4v. Brachmann 2006, ill. XI. Photo by author.



could provide and hesitated to describe him openly as a tyrant.³³ The king "permettoit" [allowed] tyranny, according to Molinet in his *Chroniques*,³⁴ who declares that Louis XI corrupted those nobles who were responsible for governing cities "par belles paroles et promesses [...] exactions, derisions, opprobres, villennies, occisions, tyrannies, larroneries, captures et inhumanités que le roi permettoit commettre par ses francs-archers" [by sweet words and promises [...] exactions, derisions, opprobrium, vilenesses, murders, tyrannies, theft, ransoms, and inhumanities, that the king allowed his free bowmen to commit].³⁵ Reading Molinet between the lines in this text which eschews animal metaphor, we can nonetheless infer that the king is culpable of allowing tyrannical abuses to take place even if he himself is not attacked overtly by the author as a tyrant.³⁶

³³ If, however, the word "tyrant" is rarely used by the majority of contemporary commentators on the reign of Louis XI (see Chastellain in Lettenhove 1863–66, vol. 7, p. 466; and Meschinot in Martineau-Génieys 1972, p. 53, v. 676), Thomas Basin, the bishop of Lisieux who was left in total disgrace after the war of Public Weal, uses it in abundance in his *Histoire de Louis XI*. In Basin's view, Louis XI was unquestionably a tyrant, worse even than those from classical antiquity: "Fourbe insigne connu d'ici jusqu'aux enfers/ Abominable tyran d'un peuple admirable" [Incredibly dishonest man well known as far afield as in hell itself, an abominable tyrant ruling over an admirable people], cited from the edition in Samaran and Garand 1963–72, vol. 3, p. 387. We must not forget, however, that Basin's biography of Louis XI was published *after* the death of the king between 1483 and 1487.

³⁴ Text cited from the edition in Buchon 1827–28, vol. 2, pp. 63, 64.

³⁵ Buchon 1827–28, vol. 2, p. 61.

³⁶ On how Louis XI let Olivier le Daim corrupt the royal service, see Boudet 1986a; and Boudet 1986b.

LOUIS XI AND OTHER ANIMALS

If bestial metaphors could, sometimes, be deployed approvingly by political commentators of the period when they compared the young Louis [XI] to a dolphin, herring, or kinglet as creatures that carried positive connotations of kingship,³⁷ many of the same authors also chose to discuss him in terms that were unequivocally negative and desacralizing, as was the case with Chastellain and Molinet who picked up on Charles the Bold's famous comparison of Louis XI to a spider.³⁸ Indeed, it would seem difficult to find a worse animal to represent the king of France, since the spider symbolizes guile, dissimulation, and predation, not to mention the disgust which it provokes.

Yet, the most extraordinary collection of animals used to refer to Louis XI is probably that found in Molinet's *Naufrage de la Pucelle*, an occasional text in prose and poetry, written between April 27, 1477 (date of the Austro-Burgundian agreement and marriage by proxy of Mary of Burgundy, the only daughter of Charles the Bold, and Maximilian of Habsburg) and August 18, 1477 (date of Maximilian's entry into Ghent and the ceremony of his marriage to Mary).³⁹ The context for reading this work by Molinet is as follows: in January 1477, immediately upon the announcement of the death of the duke Charles in Nancy, Louis XI rushed into Burgundy; in spring 1477, he repressed Arras and had the "bourgeois" of the town executed; and, in June 1477, he sent his reapers to Hainaut to make the "gast" [that is, to destroy the wheat crops] around Valenciennes and Douai. In his *Naufrage de la Pucelle*, Molinet alludes to these events when he recounts in allegorical form how, on a ship, "Marie" (Mary of Burgundy), sad and in mourning, sails with "Cœur leal" [Loyal Heart], "Noblesse debilitée" [Burgundian nobility], and "Communauté féminine" [Flemish cities].⁴⁰ In the beautiful Parisian manuscript of this text which is decorated with pen-and-ink drawings,⁴¹ Molinet depicts Louis XI as a whale, a marine monster (fols. 10v, 16r, 17r, 18v, 19r), which tries to swallow up in its immense jaws the daughter of [Charles] the Bold

³⁷ Jean Molinet in his *Débat de l'aigle, du harenc et du lion* compares Louis in his youth to the dolphin, because this term is used in French to designate the heir apparent (Dupire 1936–39, vol. 2, pp. 628–35) and to the herring, king of fish (Dupire 1936–39, vol. 2, p. 628, vv. 7–12); while in his *Débat des trois nobles oiseaux*, he likens him to the kinglet (Dupire 1936–39, vol. 2, pp. 649–55). See also Devaux 1996; Smets 2001; Smets 2002; and Scordia 2015.

³⁸ Following Charles the Bold, Chastellain in 1467 (in his *Lyon rampant*, as preserved in Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 10262, fol. 143r, vv. 1–3), and, in 1467–68, Molinet (in his *Souffle Triton en ta buse argentine*, as preserved in Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 10262, fol. 144r) repeated this metaphor in order to stigmatize Louis XI as a spider who distills his poison against the noble lion of Burgundy. This famous comparison inspired the title of a modern biography of Louis XI as the "Universal Spider" (Kendall 1971).

³⁹ All quotations from this text are from the edition in Dupire 1936–69, vol. 1, pp. 77–99. See also Dixon 2006, pp. 96–8; Jennequin 2009, pp. 3–18; Jennequin and Minet-Mahy 2013; Bousmar 2013; and Randall 2014.

⁴⁰ These Flemish cities were characterized as female, because of their inconstancy.

⁴¹ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 14980 consists of 20 folios and contains 11 illustrations.



6.5 The whale [Louis XI] threatening the "Pucelle" [Mary of Burgundy]. Jean Molinet, *Le Naufrage de la Pucelle*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 14980, fol. 18v. Photo BnF.

(Figure 6.5). The “gratieuse pucelle” [the gracious young damsel] (p. 77) with no patron or guide, far from home, is abandoned to all dangers and on the point of being swallowed up “es gouffres sathaniques” [in a Satanic abyss] (p. 80). Far from protecting Mary of Burgundy, his barely 20-year-old goddaughter, Louis XI tries to seize her inheritance, as the young maiden herself declares: “A marier, sans mari suis Marie,/ Triste, marrie, en point de mariage” [To marry, I am Mary without husband, sad and saddened because I am yet to marry] (p. 81). The choice of the comparison between Louis and the whale is intriguing, but Molinet explains himself cryptically by mixing natural science (the idea of the jet of vapor from the whale’s mouth) and symbolism (the lily). “En respirant,” he writes, the whale “respend une vapeur delicieuse tant odoriferante que tous poissons qui la sentent entrent en sa gueule” [When he breathes, the whale emits a fragrant vapor so sweet-smelling that all fish fall into the monster’s jaws] (p. 88). The contemporary reader would thus be expected to understand that the famous water jet of whales breaking the surface to breathe is being likened here to the fleur-de-lis of the kingdom of France, the flower with a matchless fragrance. The cunning whale “mist en front ung petit dauphin qui salloit et volletoit a l’environ de la gallee” [placed on its forehead a little dolphin that swam and played around the galley] (p. 88): this is an allusion to the young dauphin of France, Charles, who was only seven years old. In the miniature depicting this scene, we can see that the dolphin looks like a dragon because his father is the whale (Figure 6.5) and that the text describes it as sending sirens with songs more melodious than those of Ocheghem and Dufaÿ (two famous composers of the day) (p. 89) to make the princess’s galley sink. Seduced by these songs, the Burgundian nobility (“Noblesse debilitée”)⁴² give up Marie (pp. 92–3). All are attracted by the smell of the whale’s lily (p. 93), as were the Burgundian renegades of those years in historical reality. For Molinet, the whale is about to swallow Marie like a “brebis en pance de loup” [a lamb in the wolf’s belly] (p. 88), but Heaven is not deaf to Marie’s cries and sends the king of the air (as seen in Figure 6.5), in the form of an eagle (the emperor) whose very noble son (Maximilian) enters the whale and cuts out its entrails (pp. 97–8), just as Saint George (patron saint of the English) did in killing the dragon. In this allegorical account of Maximilian of Habsburg’s rescue of Mary of Burgundy through marriage to her, Molinet’s portrayal of Louis XI as a whale, depicted as being as wily as the devil for the way in which it attacks man’s senses (hearing and smell) in order to destroy him, may be less repulsive and overt than that of the metaphor of the king of France as a spider, but is no less damning for all that.

⁴² On January 29, 1477, the States of Burgundy swore obedience to the king of France. Louis XI annexed the duchy of Burgundy, the counties of Auxerre and Mâcon, the Charolais, Château-Chinon, and Bar-sur-Aube. On February 1 of that same year, Mary of Burgundy had to sign the *Grand Privilège* (a text giving autonomy to cities in the Burgundian Netherlands) after the revolt of Ghent against her.

Conclusion

As we have seen, authors and artists alike offered both implicit and explicit critiques of the reign of Louis XI which they saw as falling far short of the ideal rulership that was expounded in the political and moral writings of the age. In their eyes, Louis not only failed to deliver justice to his people but actually perverted it. Louis XI unsettled his contemporaries by the variability of his politics, his impatience, and his talkativeness, which the commentators of the day regarded as the complete antithesis of the idealized image of the king of justice presented on the royal seal, one which was in all respects identical to that of the king's own ancestor and namesake, Louis IX, whom they revered as Saint Louis and whose style of rulership they praised as being implacable, steadfast, and long-lasting. During Louis XI's reign, many figures opposed the king through treason, treachery, and battle, but overt written attacks on him were few and far between. While some of his opponents waited for the king to die before they published their overt condemnations of his rule (Basin), most of those who wrote during his lifetime were prepared only to go so far as to use covert allegorical scenarios or metaphors involving animals (Meschinot, Molinet, and Chastellain). Of this latter group of writers, it is Pierre Choinet in his *Livre des trois âges* who stands out for the way in which he mixes the textual subtleties of verse and the visual beauties of manuscript illumination in order to offer to his readers a highly nuanced but nonetheless trenchantly critical record of the reign of Louis XI.

Passing Sentence: Variations on the Figure of the Judge in French Political, Legal, and Historical Texts from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century

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Résumé français: Assumer l'exercice de la justice au Moyen Âge est une charge investie d'une lourde responsabilité. Or, les textes normatifs insistent régulièrement sur les dispositions morales dont doivent faire preuve les princes et les juges afin de maintenir une bonne justice. L'enluminure, telle qu'elle est présente dans les manuscrits juridiques, souligne également ce rôle déterminant du juge comme garant de la paix publique. Car le juge placé sous la surveillance constante de la puissance divine se doit de rendre un bon jugement, il doit être l'incarnation de l'équité. Cependant, malgré les recommandations présentes dans les coutumiers, de nombreux auteurs tout au long du Moyen Âge ont dénoncé la cupidité des hommes de loi; travers que l'enluminure s'abstient d'évoquer. Au contraire, l'illustration des manuscrits juridiques s'emploie à louer avec force cette capacité du juge à ordonner la peine capitale à l'encontre d'individus ayant menacé l'équilibre de la société. Les juges ne sont pas les seuls à user du droit de punir, et la représentation du roi de France au sein des Grandes chroniques de France peut aussi être associée à cette faculté d'ordonner la mort afin d'assurer la protection du royaume.

The exercise of justice during the Middle Ages was not so light a matter that it might be delegated to any royal or seigneurial officer without due consideration being given to the human qualities required to carry out such a responsibility in the proper way.¹ Legal texts as well as texts concerning the art of government raise the question of the moral qualities that must be upheld by the prince and the judges under him, if justice is to be maintained. The system of justice is under divine surveillance, and the responsibility for administering it is a serious one, since an unjust judgment might lead the one who rendered it to be condemned to the fires of Hell. But even

¹ This view was operative in Christian thought from its very inception: see Houlou 1974.

apart from this omniscient oversight, judges and princes alike are obliged to administer justice fairly, because the peace and survival of the kingdom depend on it. The importance of the task cannot be underestimated, and this partly explains the large number of admonitions from many authors of literary, legal, and historical texts exhorting judges to uphold the dignity and the virtuous practice of the law. As for the prince, his responsibility is to guarantee the operation of the system of justice by naming only judges who are experienced and of good character. The prince also has the supreme power to issue pardons and commute sentences; this is a clear sign of princely power, for no one else can set aside the verdicts of judges, or pardon the most serious crimes. Thus it is in the context of this penal justice, a justice that during the Middle Ages handed down the heaviest of punishments, that we shall examine political texts dealing with power and justice, as well as a number of illuminations appearing in legal manuscripts and in the *Grandes chroniques de France*.

In particular, we shall be analysing the manner in which the figure of the judge—a man of capital importance in this context, the one who passes sentence—is portrayed in texts and illuminations. These two types of sources will also allow us to examine the hierarchical relationship that exists between the judge and the prince. Are the judges represented as servants of the king, or as sole masters in the courtroom? *A contrario*, are the illustrations of the *Grandes chroniques de France* the origin of an exaggerated imagery of the sovereign, who uses his own power to punish those who threaten the peace of the realm?

Textual Representations of the Judge

The king of France, because of the sacred character of his person, receives the supreme power to administer justice from God himself; judges who represent the sovereign must bear this tutelary figure in mind.² The judge is under the unceasing surveillance of a morally perfect God, and accordingly must constantly strive for moral perfection in order to counter the limitations that his human nature imposes. The all-powerful God who governs the destiny of men is himself a severe judge who cannot be fooled and cannot be bought. This infallibility of God's judgment is tempered only by His mercy, as Rutebeuf points out:³

Poissans, que rien ne li eschape;
Por quoi? Qu'il at tot soz sa chape;

² On this Christian view of justice and the moral demands it places on judges, see Carbasse 1999.

³ Rutebeuf's poems, by their critical nature, are crucial for understanding various historical aspects of the thirteenth century. The poet, who was closely connected to the university, was probably very active on the Parisian scene.

Sages, c'on nou puet desavoir,
 Se puet chacuns aparsovoir;
 Connoissans, qu'il connoist la choze
 Avant que li hons la propose.

[He is powerful because nothing escapes His notice: why? Because He holds everything under His mantle. He is wise, for no one can deceive Him; everyone should know this. He is all-knowing, for He knows what a man intends to do even before the man intends it.]⁴

Divine justice is thus distinguished from human justice because the divine can separate what is true from what is false without there being any doubt about the matter. Divine justice is superior to the justice rendered by human judges because it cannot fall into error. This is why judges must learn to hand down good judgments, not allowing their preferences to hold sway, basing their judgments only on the objective knowledge furnished by the evidence brought before the court by the parties involved. In this perspective, God alone knows the truth about everything. The judge can only listen and give to each of the parties their due measure of justice, not allowing himself to be led astray by the tricks which plaintiff or defendant may try to play, as John of Salisbury states in his *Policraticus*.⁵ The judge is responsible for having insight into the truth of the matter in order to maintain fairness, and this explains the prevalence of the story of the judgment of Solomon, interpreted as setting a standard for the profession. The biblical king, perplexed by a case brought before him, prays to God for guidance, so that he may decide correctly. This detail, too often neglected, as Daniel Ménager has pointed out, reveals the real issue of the trial for Solomon—knowing how to judge.⁶ Thus the judge should take Solomon as a model and conscientiously try to judge as well as he can, in order to please God.

The efforts of the judge in this regard must be unceasing, for as the anonymous author of the *Coutumier d'Artois*⁷ says, "Li jugeur sont pardesous Dieu, qui tous les jours les regarde qués jugemens il font" [The judges are under God, who every day looks over the judgments they make].⁸ As Robert Jacob has shown, an example of this *coutumier* (customary law text) includes an illumination whose composition portrays this sort of submission of earthly justice to divine justice by superimposing the image of Christ at the Last Judgment upon that of a tribunal; the eyes of the judges are all turned upward toward the figure of Christ (Figure 7.1).⁹ This gesture of submission is also

⁴ Text cited from Zink 1990, p. 979.

⁵ See the edition in Brucker 1985, p. 446.

⁶ Ménager 2008, p. 128.

⁷ This text, a collection of customs in use in the Arras region, is a mixture of jurisprudence and Roman law, and was probably written in 1300 by a lawyer of Arras.

⁸ Text cited from Tardif 1883, p. 147.

⁹ See Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5249, fol. 44v; and Jacob 1994, pp. 47–8. The text accompanying the illumination specifies that since local customs do not require an image of God in the courtroom (as is required under Roman law), the judge must keep God's image in his breast, as it were, in order to banish hatred and greed from his heart during the trial.

mentioned in the *Coutumier bourguignon*,¹⁰ whose author further notes that “Juges qui fait jugement doit avoir les yeux envers le ciel; et est à entendre que le cuer soit à Dieu par vraye foy de droiture, qui ne pensoit point es vanités du monde” [The judge who makes a judgment must look towards the sky; that is to say that his heart must be given to God as an act of faith, without a thought for the vanities of the world].¹¹ The devotion of the judge in defending the cause of the divine, through an unending search for truth, is accompanied by a certain fear of infernal punishments lying in store for any judge who would forget the sacred nature of his task in an attempt to profit materially from his position.¹² As the prologue to the *Coutumier d’Artois* puts it, judges must live in “la cremeur de dieu” [the fear of God]; this idea appears to be represented in an illumination in the same book by three swords whose points are turned toward the judge, menacing him if he makes a mistake.¹³ This threat of divine punishment for judges who become corrupt is not new, and not exclusive to legal texts; we find it mentioned in the thirteenth century with particular energy by Peire Cardenal:¹⁴

Aus tu, que t’est fatz legista
E tols l’autrui dreg a vista
Al partir n’er t’arma trista,
S’as forjudada la gen.
Pueis que dizes que dreg sabes
E per cobeitat t’entrabes,
En ifern crei que-t sotsables
Plus c’om que dreg non enten.

[Hear me now, you who have made yourself a judge, you who suppress the rights of men in front of everyone: at the final judgment your soul will be sad if you have unfairly judged people. For inasmuch as you say you know the law, but through covetousness you make wrong judgments, you will fall deeper into hell than a man who did not know the law.]¹⁵

This subordination of earthly judges to divine approval is reiterated by all authors throughout the Middle Ages. The fear of divine anger is supposed to encourage judges to be merciful, but the main idea is to discourage corruption, as Christine de Pizan says in her *Livre de la paix*:¹⁶ “A nom de Dieu, estre sages afin que cler voyant en toutes causes et que erreur ne soit en

¹⁰ The most comprehensive collection of customary laws in use in Burgundy, written around 1400.

¹¹ Text cited from Petitjean and Marchand 1982, p. 99.

¹² On this perpetual reference to divine justice, see Jacob 2000.

¹³ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5249, fol. 12v, reproduced in Jacob 1994, p. 47. On the relationship between this constant reference and Matt. 7:2 concerning the decoration of courtrooms, see Jacob 1991, p. 72.

¹⁴ A troubadour of the thirteenth century, he excelled in satire, particularly to denounce the greed of his contemporaries.

¹⁵ Text cited from Lavaud 1957, p. 341.

¹⁶ Completed in 1414, this moral treatise was written for the young dauphin, Louis de Guyenne.



7.1 A judgment under divine surveillance.
Coutumier d'Artois, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5249, fol. 44v. Jacob 1994, fig. 47. Photo by author.

leurs jugemens, qu'ilz craignent Dieu afin que convoitise par faveur ou par flaterie ne puissent estre corrompus" [In the name of God, they must be wise in order to see clearly in every cause, so that they make no mistake in their judgments; they must fear God so that they cannot be corrupted by favor or flattery].¹⁷ Nonetheless it appears that such threats were not sufficient to keep many members of the judicial profession from straying, and Christine de Pizan also observes that "ce soit chose notoire que tous justiciers ne soient mie bons" [it is notorious that not all judges are fair].¹⁸ Like many before her,¹⁹ Christine, in the *Livre de la paix*, denounces the corruption of judges who pervert the exercise of justice. In order to accumulate wealth and to stay in office, some judges are willing to compromise themselves in any way possible. In view of the frequency with which critics level accusations against the many improprieties committed by judges (and which is the same no matter which literary sources we consult), we must conclude that swearing an oath upon the Gospels at the moment of a judge's investiture, as recommended by Jean Boutillier in *La Somme rural*,²⁰ was not sufficient to prevent judges from engaging in corrupt acts.²¹

¹⁷ Text cited from Willard 1958, p. 95.

¹⁸ For other examples, see Gonthier 1997.

¹⁹ Marie de France, as early as the second half of the twelfth century, denounced abuses by judges in her fable *Le loup et l'agneau*: see the edition in Harf-Lancner and Warnke 1990, p. 353, and also pp. 97–8.

²⁰ Written by Boutillier, a senior judge, this legal compilation completed in 1396 reflects customary law practiced in Northern France.

²¹ See the edition in Charondas le Caron 1621, p. 709.

In fact, the association of the judicial profession and the desire for wealth is frequently decried by authors who are at pains to emphasize the inappropriateness of such an attitude because, as Rutebeuf explains, “Quar, quant dan Deniers vient en place,/ Droiture faut, droiture esface” [when Master Money comes into the courtroom, Justice turns away and disappears].²² Renaut d’Andon, a legal expert in the Orléans region, wrote in his *Contenz du monde*²³ verses about his colleagues’ desire for money:

Li juge de cest monde ont la main si enfrune
 Por recevoir les dons, por prendre la pecune,
 Qu’il ne voient droit fere au soleil n’a la lune;
 Ils nos vendent jostise qui doit estre commune.

[The judges in this world have such an inappropriate hand to receive gifts, to take the cash, that they no longer know how to act right; they sell us a justice that should be common good.]²⁴

These “plumeurs de gens” (those who “pluck” people who come before the court), as Jean Dupin called them in his *Mélancolies*,²⁵ have the bad habit of tormenting the poor not only by handing down trumped-up sentences for pay, but also by levying undeserved fines. These judges live by “roberie” [thieving] and betray justice in ways that are unacceptable.²⁶ This picture of a justice that is the opposite of what it should be is also deplored in verse by Eustache Deschamps,²⁷ who writes:

Par ton deffault, c’est chose certaine
 Que destruite est toute la gent menue
 Car aux puissans ne fais torment ne paine
 Helas! Justice, et qu’es tu devenue?

[By your fault, it is certain that the poor people are annihilated, because you never torment the powerful. Alas! Justice, what have you become?]²⁸

The habit of operating the system of justice in a negligent or improper way could also have serious consequences for the peace of the realm. As Philippe de Mézières says in his *Songe du vieil pèlerin*,²⁹ judges who

²² Zink 1990, p. 87.

²³ This poem, written in the second half of the thirteenth century, describes the unvarnished corrupt manners of men officiating in the courts of Orléans.

²⁴ Text cited from Jenkins 1911, vol. 1, p. 64.

²⁵ In the last chapter of this poem composed between 1324 and 1340, the author offers a critical and judgmental *tableau* of various actors of the society of his time.

²⁶ Text cited from Lindgren 1965, pp. 205–12.

²⁷ Magistrate and poet, the author adopts a mocking tone, which becomes moralizing later on his life, in order to expose the failings of his contemporaries in the second half of the fourteenth century.

²⁸ Text cited from Queux de Saint-Hilaire 1878, vol. 3, p. 161.

²⁹ Composed between 1386 and 1389, this allegorical tale is addressed to King Charles VI of France in order for him to complete his political education and reform the kingdom for the better. See Chapter 4, this volume, for a detailed discussion of this text.

ignore the model of judicial virtue, such as it is depicted in the opening illustrations of certain volumes of the *Digest*, constitute a danger for the kingdom which may go “a ruyne” [to ruin].³⁰ In Philippe’s view, by showing too much favor to the powerful, judges remove the only way in which poor people can have their rights recognized, thus preventing the voice of justice from making itself heard.³¹ These judges not only betray the Justice they are sworn to serve, but actually contribute to crime, to the extent that the excessive fines they levy may induce the poorest of the poor to turn to crime in order to survive, as stated in the *Très ancienne coutume de Bretagne*.³²

Et tieuls justiciers estaient et sont pires que les larrons qui guetent les chemins pour rober les genz et les marchanz ... quar ils metent le pouple à povreté, et lour donnent occasion d’estre larrons pour ce qu’ils n’ont de quoy vivre.

[And these judges were, and still are, worse than the thieves who seek to rob people and merchants ... because they make the people poorer, and give them the opportunity to be thieves in order to live.]³³

These criticisms of the system of justice appear to indicate that judges are corrupt, but there is another image, a much more positive one, which does tend to counterbalance the negative portrayal of the profession.³⁴ Amid exhortations to greater virtue, there emerges a figure of the ideal judge, who knows how to conduct a trial, who listens to each complaint carefully, and who stands, as can be seen in the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung,³⁵ as a defender of the poorest and least powerful.³⁶

However, in order for the system of justice of the kingdom to benefit from such judges, the king must be involved, and must appoint the best qualified persons for the office of judge; as the *Livre du gouvernement des rois*, the French translation of Giles of Rome’s text by Henri de Gauchy (1282) puts it:³⁷ “Quer nule chose ne puet si bien sauver le reaume comme metre les bons et les sages es baillies et es seignouries de la terre ...” [Nothing could better save the realm than having the good and the wise as bailiffs and landlords ...].³⁸ This concept is warmly endorsed by Christine de

³⁰ On this imagery, see Morel 2000; and Morel 2001.

³¹ Text cited from Coopland 1969, vol. 1, pp. 471–2.

³² This text is a compilation of customary rules in use in Brittany written by three practitioners shortly after 1312.

³³ Text cited from Plagniol 1896, p. 310.

³⁴ On the negative opinion of royal officers, see Gauvard 1980.

³⁵ See, in particular, Jean de Meung’s learned and moralizing digressions which regularly punctuate his long continuation of this famous thirteenth-century allegorical poem.

³⁶ Text cited from Strubel 1992, pp. 319–25.

³⁷ This treatise of political edification was composed at the request of Philip III the Bold for his son, the future Philip IV.

³⁸ Text cited from Molenaer 1899, p. 327.

Pizan, especially in her *Livre du corps de police*;³⁹ the prince must show that he loves Justice by only naming qualified people to judicial posts, “qui plus aiment la vie et l’honneur de lui et le bien du pays que leur propre prouffit” [who love the life and honor of the prince, and the good of their country, more than their own profit].⁴⁰ It is wrong to name judges carelessly, or as a favor. The prince must make sure that his nominees have the qualities and virtues that make them fit for the office of judge.⁴¹ Thomas Basin, in his *Histoire de Louis XI*,⁴² made mention of just this ability, as possessed by Charles VII, to appoint the people with the best qualifications as judges, in describing his aptitude for being a good king. Charles VII took the trouble to search among the graduates of French and foreign universities for the most competent jurists. But his son Louis XI (who reigned between 1461 and 1483) is depicted by Basin as incompetent and guilty of removing competent judges who were zealous in the defense of the law in order to promote younger, poorly qualified people who had little experience and even less knowledge of the law.⁴³ The king is thus responsible for maintaining law and fairness by taking care to delegate his authority only to loyal judges who are expert in the science of the law. Some *coutumiers* went as far as devoting a whole chapter to the ideal judge so ardently sought, especially in the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*,⁴⁴ in which Philippe de Beaumanoir lists ten virtues that the man occupying the office of bailiff should have.⁴⁵ Patience must govern all the other virtues, which range from the love of God to loyalty to one’s lord. The fourth virtue says that the bailiff must be “soufrans et escoutans, sans soi couroucier ne mouvoir de riens” [suffering and hearing, without wrath or emotion],⁴⁶ and this appears to find an echo in the figure of the judge in several miniatures decorating the illuminated copy of the *coutumier* in question. The judge listens to complainants in a Stoic manner, sitting on the bench, and passes sentence with a gesture of authority. The posture of the judge is similar in one representation after another; all evoke a certain inflexibility on the part of a man who listens without being affected by emotion, in order to be able to judge impartially (Figure 7.2). As the compiler of the *Coutumier*

³⁹ Reader for royal education, or “mirror for princes,” composed between 1404 and 1407.

⁴⁰ Text cited from Kennedy 1998, p. 33.

⁴¹ Kennedy 1998, pp. 36 and 39. This idea is also mentioned in Christine’s *Livre de la paix*; see Willard 1958, pp. 76 and 82.

⁴² This clerical figure explains that he is drawing largely from his memories in his highly personal historical narrative about Louis XI that he wrote in various stages between 1472 and 1484.

⁴³ Text cited from Samaran and Garand 1963–72, vol. 3, p. 369. On Basin, see also Chapter 6, this volume.

⁴⁴ Fruit of his experience as a practitioner, this legal treatise was composed in 1283 by Philippe de Beaumanoir when he officiated as bailiff of the county of Clermont-en-Beauvaisis.

⁴⁵ Text cited from Salmon 1899, vol. 1, pp. 16–27.

⁴⁶ Salmon 1899, vol. 1, p. 18.

d'Artois says: "ne prens mie garde as larmes et as plours que les parties font pardevant toi, mais pren garde a faire droit jugement" [Never pay attention to the tears and cries that the parties perform in front of you, but be careful to make a correct judgment].⁴⁷ This idea, that the good judge must know how to listen to testimony without being affected by the anger of complainants, is a characteristic that is mentioned over and over by authors who were trying to define the ideal judge, as witness this stanza from the *Mélancolies* of Jean Dupin:

Juge saige et atremprez
Doit estre sobre de parler
Et se gart de yre et de content.
Tout doit oïr et escouter;
Soit mensonge ou veritey,
ne s'en doint ja esmovement.

[A wise and tempered judge must speak with moderation and keep himself from anger and joy. He must hear and listen to everything, be it lie or truth, and he must never be moved.]⁴⁸

In the later Middle Ages, Juvénal des Ursins⁴⁹ changed nothing in the portrait of the good judge, except to add renown as an essential virtue, necessary in order to win the respect of the population, which was in turn needed if the people were to consider any severe sentences handed down by the judge as legitimate. The judge was obliged to demonstrate firmness, but also to be capable of mercy, since he was supposed to have at all times "Dieu et verité devant les yeulx" [God and truth before his eyes].⁵⁰ The personal conduct of the judge therefore had to be conspicuously exemplary, for moral rigor was the only real touchstone of the rectitude of his judgment. If the judge allowed himself to become angry, his own fitness for office might be called into question, as well as his right to sentence people to death. A sentence of death issued in anger would transform the justice of punishment into personal revenge, and carrying out such a sentence would be tantamount to murder, as Jean Meschinot states in his *Lunettes des princes*:⁵¹

Quant tu auras a condanner
Aulcun homme, de crime actaint,

⁴⁷ Tardif 1883, p. 147.

⁴⁸ Text cited from Lindgren 1965, p. 226.

⁴⁹ A lawyer by training, Juvénal des Ursins wrote many political texts during the first half of the fifteenth century, calling for a reform of the institutions of the kingdom, as well as for more moral rigor.

⁵⁰ Text cited from Lewis 1978–92, vol. 1, pp. 35 and 44.

⁵¹ Poet in the service of the court of Brittany, the author wrote these verses between 1461 and 1465. The text itself is an allegory of reason according to which every man must reach the state of consciousness through these glasses whose lenses are Prudence and Justice.

7.2 The Judgment.
Coutumes de Beauvaisis, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Ham 193, fol. 212r. Jacob 1994, fig. 66. Photo by author.



Garde toy bien de te danner
 Et d'estre d'omicide tainct,
 Car si haine pitié extaint
 Tu seras de sa mort en coulpe.

[When you will have to punish any man guilty of crime, preserve yourself from damnation and from becoming an homicide; for if pity extinguishes hatred, you will be guilty of his death.]⁵²

Regarding these texts, it must be noted that most of them were not illuminated, or, if they were, that they do not contain iconographic representations of judges. Another important point is that, apart from the *coutumiers*, these texts had a broader audience of intellectuals that cannot be limited just to judges. In these texts which reflect on the nature of justice or which are collections of unofficial customs, judges and poets alike emit a moral judgment on the act of judging that the images themselves do not do, even in manuscripts devoted to practitioners of law, as we shall now see.

⁵² Text cited from Martineau-Géniéys 1972, p. 61.

Iconographic Representations of the Judge in Legal Manuscripts and the *Grandes chroniques de France*

None of the illuminations in our corpus are directly critical of the figure of the judge. On the contrary, and particularly in legal manuscripts, the portrayal of the judge who passes sentence is part of a positive image that intends to exalt the function of the judge, not to rail against it.⁵³

CUSTOMARY LAW

We may nonetheless observe that the images present in the customary law texts are very loath to associate the judge with punishment.⁵⁴ Even in a richly illuminated example of the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, preserved in Berlin, the section on high and low justice is preceded by a miniature that downplays the figure of the judge, who is in the background behind the sergeant-at-arms of the court. The man on trial has been condemned to be dragged behind a horse (as a result of the exercise of the powers of high justice, which involve the possibility of capital punishment), and he is delivered into the hands of the sergeant, who in this case will carry out the sentence pronounced by a judge. The judge is not prominent in the image, but can be seen to indicate with a raised index finger that the sergeant should carry out the sentence (Figure 7.3).⁵⁵ The sergeant can be considered as the very arm of justice, as is the case in many examples of the *Établissements de Saint Louis*,⁵⁶ in which the sergeant is the person who catches the criminal as he commits a crime.⁵⁷ In one miniature of the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, the message is even more direct, because behind the sergeant we see a gallows, which represents the final phase of the sequence, establishing an obvious cause-and-effect connection between the capture of the criminal and the sentence of punishment.⁵⁸ The sergeant administers the punishment, but the responsibility of the judge in passing sentence is completely absent from the image. The painters know exactly how to portray the judge, because he appears in several other illuminations, but his representation is never linked directly to a penal verdict. In the chapter of the *Établissements de Saint Louis* devoted to false testimony, the sergeant, recognizable by the medieval mace he carries, is alone in watching the condemned man tied to a ladder (Figure 7.4). Two folios before that, the

⁵³ This analysis is supported by results published in Morel 2007.

⁵⁴ See Morel 2007; and Chapter 8, this volume.

⁵⁵ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Ham 193, fol. 186r.

⁵⁶ Louis IX was not actually responsible for the redaction of this legal compilation completed in 1273, that includes the customs of Touraine-Anjou and of Orléans. This prestigious designation originates from the two orders promulgated by Louis IX at the head of the volume and preceding the two customs.

⁵⁷ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 13987, fol. 51r. This manuscript can be viewed on the BnF's Gallica website.

⁵⁸ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 13987, fol. 8r: see Gallica.

7.3 An example of high justice: a man dragged behind a horse.

Coutumes de Beauvaisis, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Ham 193, fol. 186r. Denis-Morel 2007, fig. 70. Photo by author.



image of the judge with which the *Établissements de Saint Louis* begins portrays an important person seated on a throne (Figure 7.5).⁵⁹ This man is the prefect in charge of administering seigneurial justice, whose job it is to listen attentively to a crowd of complainants who have come to give an account of their disputes. However, the illuminators have little to say as regards the judge in connection with the act of passing sentence.

⁵⁹ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5278, fols. 1r and 3r: see Gallica.

This absence of involvement on the part of the judge in the representation of the exercise of penal justice in the *coutumiers* is compensated for by means of a mass of secondary characters, whose presence shows what the painters knew about the system of justice. The crowd has a role to play; trumpeters sound a blast to announce the dreaded sentence. In the *Coutumes de Toulouse*,⁶⁰ in the margins, we see a throng of tiny figures engaged in applying some very improbable punishments.⁶¹ Only the illuminated example of the *Vieux coutumier du Poitou*⁶² contains an illustration that does seem to associate the judge with hanging. The man dressed in a long robe and a round hat is similar in all respects to the figure of the judge represented in other manuscripts, but one cannot really say that the illuminator here shows a judge in the actual process of passing sentence.⁶³ The judge only accompanies the condemned person toward the place of execution, without our being able to define his portion of the responsibility for the judgment. Thus, in the *coutumiers*, penal law is not ignored, but punishment is not a means by which the judge's role is foregrounded. The illuminators are not trying to represent any tension in connection with the fact that the judge is involved in an action that is fraught with consequences, namely execution—in contradistinction to the iconographic programs that are present in manuscripts of Roman law.

ROMAN LAW

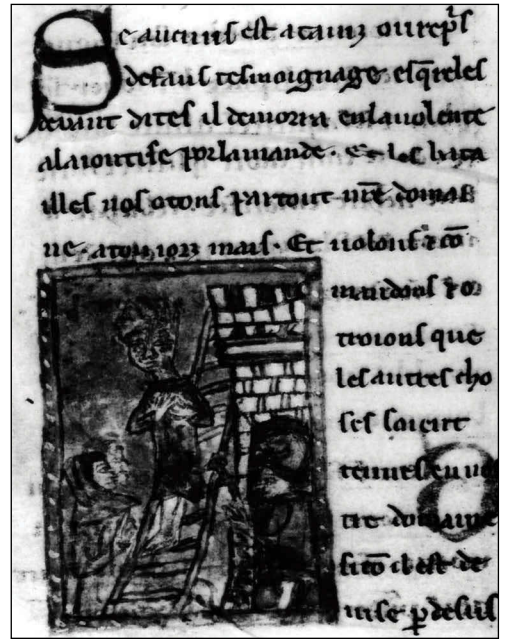
Jurists were fascinated by Roman law because it had the power to conjure up the vision of

⁶⁰ The Consuls of Toulouse obtained from Philip III the promulgation of their customs in 1286.

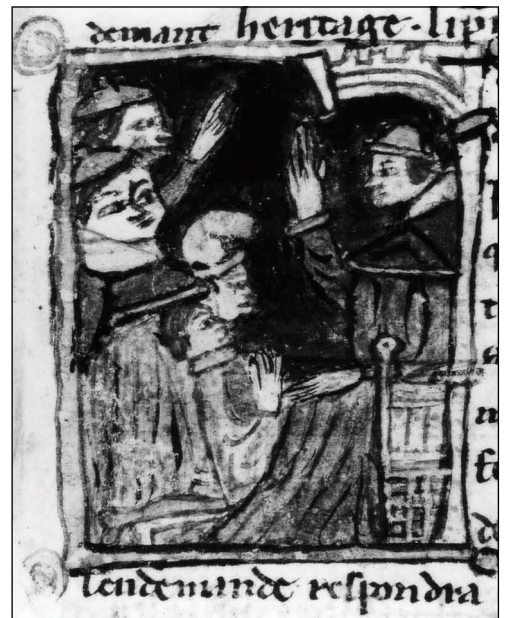
⁶¹ See, for example, Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 9187, fol. 24r, on Gallica.

⁶² This text is sometimes thought to have been written in 1417 during the siege of Parthenay by several magistrates, but is more likely to have been written after the 1454 Montils-lès-Tours order by Charles VII, which initiated the official drafting of customs.

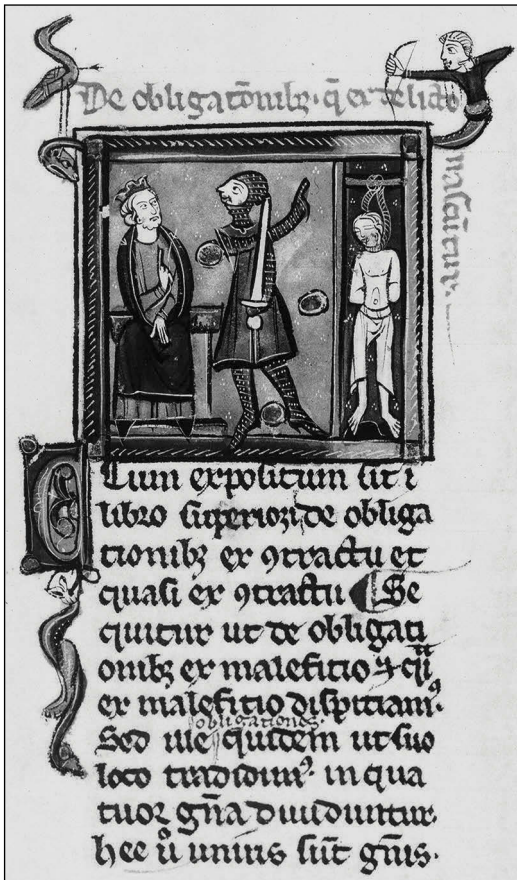
⁶³ Niort, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 18, fol. 155r. This manuscript can be viewed at <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr>.



7.4 Ladder punishment for false testimony. *Établissements de Saint Louis*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5278, fol. 3r. Photo by author.



7.5 The provost. *Établissements de Saint Louis*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5278, fol. 1r. Photo by author.



7.6 Hanging.
Institutes, Paris,
BnF, Ms. lat. 4423,
fol. 81r. Denis-
Morel 2007, fig. 9.
Photo by author.

the judge; the rigidity of his posture is an indication of the purity of his judgment. Over and above this stiffness of the judge, always ramrod-straight under the heavy drapes of his mantle, in Roman law images the figure of the judge is also indicated by his seated posture. Only on rare occasions does the judge do anything but sit. Solidly ensconced upon the bench, his searching gaze and his authoritative manner seem to penetrate those to whom he speaks.⁶⁴ In being associated with this set of gestures, the figure of the judge as it is represented in the *Corpus Juris Civilis* is in accordance with the prescriptions that exist in the *Coutumier bourguignon*, to wit, that the judge is seated higher than the other persons in the court as a means

a peaceful society. In the legal *sommes* commissioned by Justinian, the law is in fact at the service of the population, trying to give each his due, while limiting private disputes. To this rationalization of law, which depicts the triumph of fairness over an autocratic power, there appears to be a corresponding desire to rationalize the image.⁶⁴ The *Corpus Juris Civilis*⁶⁵ presents a fairly stable iconography, with compositions that are repeated from manuscript to manuscript. The judge is almost always seated on a bench on the left side of the image, and punishment is being carried out in front of him. This judge is often changed into a king and, if so, an indirect reference is made to the Emperor Justinian, who commissioned the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Figure 7.6).⁶⁶

The invariability of the composition in Roman law texts tends to represent the involvement of judges in the act of passing sentence, this action being indicated by an appearance of great stiffness in the judge's body, apparently opposed to the possibility of his "inclining" toward one or other of the parties appearing before him.⁶⁷ This is why the painters emphasize the inflexibility of

⁶⁴ On the discovery of Roman law as a durable means of constructing a state subject to laws, see Krynen 1995, pp. 16–20.

⁶⁵ Compilation of Roman law initiated in 529 by Emperor Justinian in order to give an effective legal tool to the empire, comprising the *Code*, *Digest*, *Institutes*, and *Novellae* (see Chapter 6, this volume, n. 3).

⁶⁶ Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 4423, fol. 81r.

⁶⁷ Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire, Ms. 316, fol. 51r. This analysis contradicts that put forward by Lepot 2012, p. 204.

⁶⁸ Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 16905, fol. 60r.

of emphasizing his power; but the judge is also seated “pour ce que, selon le prophete, la personne, qui est assise, les membres lui sont plus aisiez, la pensée plus attremprée, le sens plus abile que se il estoit droiz, couchiez ne agnoilliez” [because, according to the prophet, the person, once seated, is more at ease with his limbs, developing stronger thought and senses, than if he was standing, lying, or kneeling].⁶⁹ Focused on the matter at hand, assuming his full authority and power, the judge is able to order the death penalty from his high seat without any hesitation.⁷⁰ Sometimes a “sword of office” is added to this iconography of the judge, reinforcing the image of his authority still further.⁷¹ In these manuscripts, which were reserved primarily for a reading public made up of legal experts, the figure of the judge is that of a person who takes on a great responsibility, performing it in a strict and proper way, this responsibility being to protect the peace of the community from the nefarious plans of criminals, whom he must punish without hatred and without attempting to profit from their misdeeds.

Although the illustrations of manuscripts of Roman law were intended primarily for jurists, it is noticeable that the judge is represented more frequently as a king wearing a crown, than as a magistrate wearing the kind of hat that is characteristic of the office of the judge.⁷² Otherwise the king is usually replaced by a regular judge in miniatures in which punishments are represented that do not occur under Roman law,⁷³ such as cutting off the ears of the condemned person.⁷⁴ It is the same with boiling people alive.⁷⁵ The incongruity of the punishment may lead to the judge being omitted altogether from the image.⁷⁶

Therefore we can say that illustrations in manuscripts on Roman law were more likely to portray judges in a positive light, and often depicted them as important characters, even in connection with penal law. The judge, certain of the importance of his function, proudly takes responsibility for his actions, even when he runs the risk of being severely punished by God, as would be the case if he were to hand down an unjust sentence of death. That is the peril of his office, but his expertise and moral rectitude sustain him in his difficult task, and he is confident that he will do nothing to deserve punishment from God.

⁶⁹ Petitjean and Marchand 1982, p. 99.

⁷⁰ Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 393, fol. 68v.

⁷¹ Paris, BnF, Ms. nal. 2437, fol. 258v.

⁷² Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 4483, fol. 168v: see Gallica. On the robing of judges during the Middle Ages, see Dauvillier 1958; and Autrand 1981, pp. 133–7.

⁷³ The use of ear-cutting and scalding to illustrate Roman law is difficult to explain and seems related to a misinterpretation of the texts by the illuminators: see Morel 2007, pp. 138–43.

⁷⁴ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Clm. 21, fol. 202v; or Brussels, BR, Ms. 9141, fol. 219r.

⁷⁵ Paris, BnF, Ms. nal. 2436, fol. 323v.

⁷⁶ Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 392, fol. 220v. This manuscript can be viewed at <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr>.

GRANDES CHRONIQUES DE FRANCE

Another important source for the representation of the medieval exercise of justice has now to be addressed, about whose readership we know far more than that of the literary, moralizing, or political texts which, as we have seen, give a disabused view of the judge. This source is the *Grandes chroniques de France*, preserved in richly illuminated manuscripts that were produced for the most part in Paris either for the king himself, or for the royal family.⁷⁷ Justice, then, is not the province of judges alone, since it is also a function of royal power.⁷⁸ The prince can make and unmake laws, but he must still act within the limits of fairness, for which judges are the guarantors. Judges and the king share in the exercise of justice, and so one might have thought that some illuminators would have associated the two administrators of the law. Yet, an examination of the illustrations in the *Grandes chroniques de France*⁷⁹ shows that they do not, in fact, portray the exercise of justice as a delegated power. Rather, in this historical narrative that recounts the most important actions of the French monarchy, the king administers justice alone, without the aid of any jurist. However, in contrast to manuscripts of Roman law, his presence is not indispensable in images of the application of punishment. Thus the king does not appear in all the scenes of punishment that are contained in the *Grandes chroniques de France*. Punishment is thought of by the painters as a manifestation of royal power, the power to punish individuals who have threatened the peace of the kingdom or who have infringed the authority of the king.⁸⁰ Although Claude Gauvard has shown that royal power is exercised primarily through pardons or commutation of sentences in her study of the archives of the Parlement of Paris, and only very loosely associated with “l’éclat des supplices” [the shock effect of punishment],⁸¹ this is not the case in the images of the *Grandes chroniques de France*, where the king is frequently associated with the most serious exactions of justice.

⁷⁷ See Hedeman 1991 for the origin of the copies.

⁷⁸ On the importance of justice in the art of government, as well as in the education of princes, see Bell 1962; and Krynen 1981.

⁷⁹ Collection relating to the history of the kings of France from their mythical origins to the fifteenth century, this text originated in the thirteenth century in the writings of monks at the Abbey of Saint-Denis before Charles V delegated his chancellor Pierre d’Orgemont to complete the initial Saint-Denis narrative, whose last updated version written by Richard Lescot ended in 1350. It is the version pursued by the chancellor until 1379, and supplemented by various external additions until 1380, that has been most widely spread, particularly among a princely and aristocratic audience, mainly in the Paris region. The few manuscripts updated after 1380 have not been considered here. See Spiegel 1978, pp. 78–87; and Guenée 1997, pp. 739–57.

⁸⁰ For a more extensive study of the image of the king, see Hedeman 1991. On the impact of the nature of the sponsor on the choice of illustrations, see Hedeman 1995.

⁸¹ See Gauvard 1991. The Parlement of Paris favored peace over coercion in order to allow the desire for revenge to be mollified (out of 200 cases recorded from 1387 to 1400, only four ended in a sentence of death); see Gauvard 2005.

In fact, an image such as the one which can be seen in a volume of the *Chroniques* of Enguerrand de Monstrelet,⁸² which portrays Jacques Cœur in the process of making honorable amends “au roy en la personne de son procureur” [to the king in the person of his prosecutor], while “requérant à dieu mercy au roy et justice” [asking God for the king’s mercy and justice], is very rare compared to the more normal image we shall see afterwards.⁸³ More usually, the illuminator prefers to represent the king as the one who is actually passing sentence, rather than portraying his legal representative, who is physically present during punishment, as can be seen in an image from a volume of the *Grandes chroniques de France*, in which the young Saint Louis and his father are physically present when a number of heretics are burned to death—although the text clearly specifies many acts of delegation of power performed by Louis VIII: “Le roy prinst toute la contree en sa main et mist en bonnes villes et es forteresses baillifs, seneschaux, viguiers, maires et prevosts et sergens d’armes: pour garder sa terre et toute la contree de par li et en son nom” [The king took the whole country in his hands and put into good cities and fortresses baillifs, seneschals, *viguiers*,⁸⁴ mayors, provosts, and sergeants to keep his land and the whole country for him and in his name].⁸⁵ The illustration does not show the king actually putting anyone to death, but rather serving to instigate royal justice in an exceptionally severe instance (Figure 7.7). The portrayals of executions in the *Grandes chroniques de France* show the judicial aspect of royal power in its most severe form, although the illuminators are obliged to depart somewhat from actual reality in order to do this. Like the judges in manuscripts of Roman law, it is this decision about punishment which is emphasized by the illuminators in the representation of judgment as a matter of life and death.

Compared to the rigid iconographical norms governing the portrayal of punishment in works of Roman law, the images of the *Grandes chroniques de France* are much freer in terms of composition and often add a touch of verisimilitude. Preferring a more narrative representation of scenes to a static depiction of a seated judge, they often only need to show the



7.7 Heretics burnt at the stake. *Grandes chroniques de France*, Brussels, BR, Ms. 3, fol. 248r. Hedeman 1991, fig. 123. Photo by author.

⁸² In this text, the author pays particular attention to recounting the events that took place during the conflict between the kingdoms of France and England from 1400 to 1444 and explains that his work is intended to follow on from that of Jean Froissart.

⁸³ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2679, fol. 377r.

⁸⁴ *Viguiers* were local or royal officers in charge of justice and domanial rights in Southern France.

⁸⁵ Brussels, BR, Ms. 3, fol. 248r.

7.8 Amauriens
at the stake
with the gibbet
of Montfaucon
in the distance.
*Grandes chroniques
de France*, Paris,
BnF, Ms. fr.
6465, fol. 236r.
Denis-Morel
2007, fig. 117.
Photo by author.



king's crown to indicate his presence.⁸⁶ The sovereign is not necessarily seated, and may be depicted standing at the foot of the gallows,⁸⁷ or he may be shown in a suit of armor, simply taking note of the fact that some beheadings that were ordered have taken place.⁸⁸ The king is therefore not a static character, in contrast to the judges in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, and he gives an impression of being only momentarily interested in justice. He

⁸⁶ On the crown as symbol of justice, see Cazelle 1982, pp. 507–8.

⁸⁷ Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 512, fol. 166v. This manuscript can be viewed at <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr>.

⁸⁸ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20350, fol. 429r.

is not fixed upon the function of judging, and seems to be present at the scene of executions almost in passing, rather than fulfilling a crucial role in the judicial proceedings. Thus, certain illuminators chose to depict the sovereign on horseback, the position from which he observes the execution.⁸⁹ The portrayal of the king in such scenes is usually fairly somber except in the case of paintings by Jean Fouquet in which fleurs-de-lis, as well as the gibbet of Montfaucon (the royal gallows of Paris), are present as signs of the public authority held by the king, Philip Augustus.⁹⁰ In this image (Figure 7.8), the symbolic representation of the power of justice is no longer limited to the person of the king, but occupies the entire space, and the gibbet casts a shadow over the landscape of the composition. Another artist had the idea of giving the portrayal of punishment a more urban character by adding elements such as the ramparts of city walls, or a bridge. Here, the king is seen standing by a rampart, his elbows leaning on the parapet, which bears the color blue of the kings of France (Figure 7.9).⁹¹ The spatialization of the execution depicted by the illuminator allows the public, and also the king, to be present at the execution as if it were a public spectacle, looking at it from the outside. Despite his red robe, the king is no longer a judge focused on the task of dispensing justice there and then. Instead of acting, he is content to look on as part of the crowd.



7.9 Execution of Jacques de Molay, master of the Temple Order. *Grandes chroniques de France*, London, BL, Ms. Cotton Nero E. II, fol. 105r. Denis-Morel 2007, fig. 144. Photo by author.

⁸⁹ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2606, fols. 361v and 363r; and London, BL, Ms. Sloane 2433, vol. C, fol. 18v.

⁹⁰ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 6465, fol. 236r.

⁹¹ London, BL, Ms. Cotton Nero E. II, fols. 64v and 105r. Another illuminator repeated in a simpler fashion the composition of these two miniatures: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Ham 150, fols. 61v and 121v.

Conclusion

It is undeniable that the representations of the sovereign as the one who passes sentence, do not possess the same force in the manuscripts of the *Grandes chroniques de France* as the figures portraying the judge in the illustrations from the manuscripts of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.⁹² The visual language is less codified, and the presence of the king in the image does not lead to any reflection on the fact that he has been instrumental in sentencing someone to death. Execution is a phenomenon like many others in the history of the monarchy; it testifies to the king's power.

Once we turn away from the *Grandes chroniques de France* and toward other historical sources, where the main concern is not to assert dynastic continuity of the French monarchy, the interest shown by the illuminators in the authority that is at the origin of punishments dwindles almost to nothing. The punishment is sufficient by itself, and in chronicles such as that of Froissart, neither judge nor king appears to claim that a given instance of punishment has been commanded by their authority. In both legal and historical manuscripts targeted at high-ranking audiences, the iconographic image of the judge and of the king as judge is considerably more positive than the strictly textual image of the judge that we have seen in the beginning, in which this personage is so frequently described as a corrupt and unprofessional figure. If the literary portrait brings nuances, the image of punishment induces a final valuation of the judicial function: the execution must be read as a righteous act in order to guarantee public order.

⁹² See Morel 2000; and Morel 2007.

The Judge and the Martyr: Images of Power and Justice in Religious Manuscripts from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century

Maité Billoré and Esther Dehoux

Résumé français: *L'image du pouvoir et de la justice est souvent analysée à partir des textes normatifs et des enluminures qui ornent les recueils tels le Code Justinien ou le Décret de Gratien. Cette étude s'inscrit dans cette réflexion, mais envisage la question à partir de sources iconographiques parfois négligées par les historiens du politique: les enluminures consacrées aux martyrs. Il s'agit d'étudier les représentations du prince et du personnel de justice dans les miniatures de quelques manuscrits français de la Légende dorée et des Vies des saints, mais aussi des bréviaires royaux pour en déterminer les caractéristiques et, en les comparant aux images idéales du pouvoir et de la justice, en saisir les spécificités.*

Images of power and justice are often analysed on the basis of normative texts and the illuminations that decorate important legal codices, such as the *Code of Justinian* (*Corpus Juris Civilis*) or the *Decretum Gratiani*, or even some works of customary law (*coutumiers*) that are exceptionally well illustrated, such as those of “Poictou” or Toulouse,¹ as well as “mirrors for princes,” chronicles, or romances. Such analysis has less often focused on hagiographical manuscripts. These can be very rich in illustrations, but they also carry messages concerning power and those who wield it, and they are sources of information about the people who ordered the manuscripts to be made, those for whom they were intended, and those who painted the illustrations.

Our chapter should be considered as following in the line of historians and art historians such as Anthony Melnikas, Robert Jacob, or Barbara Morel, who based their reflections about justice on iconography. There is a difference,

¹ For works that take canon law as the basis for their study, see Melnikas 1975; for the ornamentation of the three anthologies—the *Code*, the *Digest*, and the *Institutes* that make up the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (see Chapter 6, this volume, n. 3)—see Ebel et al. 1988. Morel 2007 adds the *coutumiers* to Roman legal manuscripts. Her work also takes in the vast field of chronicles, “mirrors for princes,” and even some romances and *chansons de geste*.

however, between their approach and ours because we have focused on illuminations that depict martyrs, and which are found in manuscripts that have rarely been studied by political historians, these being the translation of the *Légende dorée* by Jean de Vignay,² several “Lives of the Saints,”³ several examples of a *Speculum Historiale*,⁴ and devotional books such as the *Livre d’images de Madame Marie*.⁵ Our corpus concentrates on manuscripts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century which were decorated in France, and which contain a large number of illuminations.⁶ We also include in this study examples from a manuscript dating back to the early part of the twelfth century, the *Authentique*, devoted to the *Passion de Saint-Quentin*, in view of the originality and richness of its iconography.⁷ The images chosen for study contain representations of the prince and the people who were responsible for administering justice that can be analysed and compared with ideal images of power, such as are found in legal manuscripts, so as to determine what they have in common with images from works of law and where they can be shown to differ from them.

Representations of martyrs in religious manuscripts do not follow the same conventions as images that illustrate earthly justice in historical or legal writings. Barbara Morel notes important differences between the two iconographic traditions, particularly in the depiction of punishments,⁸ and goes on to remark that: “Ni les *coutumiers*, ni les manuscrits de droit romain ne vont aussi loin dans l’imaginaire du supplice, et se contentent d’orner leurs pages des châtements les plus consensuels, se limitant souvent à la pendaison” [Neither the *coutumiers* nor manuscripts in Roman law go as far in the imaginative portrayal of torture; they decorate their pages only with conventional punishments, which are often limited to hangings].⁹ This squeamishness is obviously absent from religious works, in which we find horror and blood in abundance. The business of putting the martyr to death is clearly instrumentalized: the aim is precisely to show the power of his faith, which enables him to endure inhuman treatment. If, then, it can be demonstrated that punishment is not represented in the same manner in legal or historical

² The *Legenda sanctorum alias Lombardica hystoria*, written by Jacobus de Voragine between 1261 and 1266, narrates the lives of about 150 Christian saints and martyrs, and recounts episodes from the life of Christ. See Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 241 (1348); Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 244 (ca. 1480–90); Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 245 (ca. 1480–90); and Mâcon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 0003 (ca. 1470).

³ Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 588 (ca. 1290–1300); Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 183 (fourteenth century); and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 185 (fourteenth century).

⁴ Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 15940 (ca. 1370–80); Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 15942 (ca. 1370–80); Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 50 (1463); and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 51 (1463).

⁵ Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 16251 (1290–95). This work, the property of a rich laywoman, probably Marie de Rethel, lady of Enghien, includes 87 illuminations; it attests to the importance that religious images could assume in the daily devotions of lay persons during this period.

⁶ We have chosen manuscripts written in the vernacular because they contain more illuminations than Latin manuscripts.

⁷ Saint-Quentin, Church, Ms. 1. See Villette 1999.

⁸ Morel 2007, pp. 52–3.

⁹ Morel 2007, p. 77.

manuscripts, does this also hold true for the way in which the system of justice itself and those who are its agents are depicted? Are those who illuminate these religious works conforming to a norm that is similar to the one prevailing for other, non-religious works? What differences separate these hagiographical illuminations from the representations that decorate normative texts?

Representing the Unjust Sentence

The images in our corpus exhibit several stages of legal proceedings, focusing on the legal debate or at least the exchange that takes place, between the judge and the accused. This is the case when several episodes related to the case are represented in one illumination. In manuscripts as unusual as the *Authentique* of Saint-Quentin, they may display almost the entire trial. However, illuminations in our corpus concentrate primarily on the moment when the sentence, once delivered, is carried out. This should not surprise us, yet it still demands interpretation as the punishment of the Christian is the final stage of an act of legal repression, and so its representation is *de facto* one to do with both justice and power.

THE PUNISHMENT OF CHRISTIANS

The pages devoted to martyrs in Jean de Vignay's translation of Jacobus de Voragine alone reveal the great variety of tortures that are inflicted on such figures, the portrayal of which exhibits an attention to detail that is unashamedly morbid. The stock phrases "his head was cut off" and "he was decapitated" occur often enough, but they do not stoke the imagination of the reader quite as forcefully as the order of Dacianus demanding that Saint Vincent should be bound, that he should have his arms cruelly twisted, that he should be pulled in opposite directions until his bones are disarticulated, one by one, and until one could see his liver palpitate through a gaping wound in his abdomen.¹⁰ A certain sophistication in horror and the multiplicity of cruelties would have left their mark on the minds of readers, but this is only partially expressed in iconography.

The choice of tortures represented contributed, by itself, to defining and eventually discrediting those wielding political power and administering justice. We may note, along with an absence of hangings and only a small number of cases of drawing (dragging along the ground),¹¹ the importance given to decapitation. This is sometimes the only torture depicted, and sometimes it is simply the last thing suffered by the condemned man. The various depictions remind us that many Christians were not executed for treason alone, but also for having threatened the stability of the Empire by their

¹⁰ Text cited from Dunn-Lardeau 1997, p. 244.

¹¹ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 50, fol. 329v; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 185, fol. 66r; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 241, fol. 319r; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 244, fol. 128v; and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 245, fol. 193r.

refusal to honor divinities recognized by the State, and their desire to worship a god who was not even recognized by the Roman Senate. The prevalence of decapitation also serves to demonstrate the fact that the men and women who were executed belonged to a social elite (their nobility being counted among the familiar roster of hagiographical *topoi*), even if certain saints, such as Saint George, are not shown being decapitated in iconographic representation, despite mention being made to this effect in the accompanying texts. The significance of decapitation in the manuscripts examined here is certainly in accordance with the considerable importance given to this punishment in illustrations that embellish legal and historical writings. Yet the images in our corpus also attest to a reluctance to depict a headless body. Illustrations that show only one martyred saint rarely show him decapitated.¹² The most frequent composition depicts the moment before the actual death blow is struck. The sword may be only partially drawn from its scabbard; more often than not, the executioner merely raises his axe; the image is suggestive enough to allow the imagination to supply the rest. The taboo concerning blood that may be cited as an explanation for the type of decoration generally found in historical and legal manuscripts is not applicable to hagiographical manuscripts. The corpus does contain several images in which blood flows and does so copiously, as well as representations of the severed head falling and the axe or the sword hitting the neck of the condemned person. There are many illustrations in which the Christian, on his knees before the executioner, is surrounded by the heads and bodies of his friends, who have already been executed.

To decapitation we may add cases of boiling alive, flaying, whipping, amputation, burning at the stake, and even roasting over a fire (tied to a large grill). The blood which may flow or spurt forth and the presence of dead bodies make the serenity of the saint seem that much more remarkable, the strength of his faith that much more admirable. These images also demonstrate the extreme cruelty and barbarity of various tortures: the fire that burns the martyr is carefully made even hotter; skin and breast may be torn off; special nails forged for the purpose are driven under the fingernails, etc. Drowning and boiling alive may sometimes replace the events in late antiquity, but dismemberment, flaying with knives or with sharp-toothed combs that reduce the flesh down to the bone, or live burial all remain in the imagination of people of the Middle Ages as the tortures preferred by tyrants, being associated with their capricious cruelty.

The punishment inflicted on Christians has a complex meaning. It can display the heroism of a saint, but it can also discredit the torturer and the judge (who may be a king or a magistrate). This implication was not lost on the holders of political power. The author of the *Passion de Saint-Quentin* points out that Rictius Varus (Rictiovar), angry with Quentin, was anxious to find new tortures, but also that he tried to reason with Quentin, and eventually

¹² Mâcon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 3, fol. 181r; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 50, fol. 315v; Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 1052, fols. 345r, 393v, 429r, 441v, 446v, 480r.

opted for a softer line for fear that someone might attribute the condemned man's death to a simple feeling of cruelty rather than justice. Jacobus de Voragine observes that Julian the Apostate promised John and Paul of Rome that he would not make martyrs of them, but rather public enemies.¹³

The representation of martyrs is also complex and ambiguous. It may contribute to admiration for the saint and give rise to hatred toward the torturer and the judge; it may provoke disgust if it presents events in a manner that is unbearable for the reader. Knowing that the shedding of blood helped the martyr attain sainthood does not eliminate the visual impact of the representation. The cruelty of torture may disturb the reader who, if he should manifest his disapproval or hostility, most often tries to erase the features or the actions of those who have ordered someone's death, or who actually take their lives.

THE STIGMATIZATION OF THE EXECUTIONER

Barbara Morel has shown that the public executioner is usually treated like an ordinary man, "un personnage assez neutre" [a fairly neutral character]¹⁴ in legal or historical manuscripts. In 71 percent of the images in our corpus this figure is not distinguished by any particular physical traits or by any particular kind of costume. As Morel puts it, "Il s'impose comme un instrument au service de la justice" [He stands forth as an instrument that is used by (the system of formal) justice],¹⁵ and the illuminations here clearly depict a man who is practicing a profession with some diligence, a professional, in line with her observation: "Ses gestes inspirés du réel traduisent, avec un certain souci d'authenticité, la teneur de l'investissement de ce personnage sans qui le supplice n'aurait pas lieu" [His gestures, inspired by historical reality, depict with some care for authenticity the dedication of this figure, without whom there would be no torture].¹⁶ Legal iconography thus shows respect for the man and his office, even though society sees the executioner, like the surgeon or the butcher, as a fearful figure, because of his connection to death and blood.¹⁷ In religious iconography the executioner is represented quite differently. Of the images in the corpus, 72.2 percent depict him as assuming a contorted posture, or as possessing some other negative attribute that tends to dehumanize him, or to render his appearance demonic.

¹³ Dunn-Lardeau 1997, p. 561.

¹⁴ Morel 2007, p. 281.

¹⁵ Morel 2007, p. 14.

¹⁶ Morel 2007, p. 293.

¹⁷ Pouchelle 1988. The connection with blood is derogatory, and the word "sanglant" [bloody] occupies an important place in the lexicon of curses and unflattering descriptions. It is frequently applied along with a noun that refers to the crime, such as in "sanglant truand" [bloody crook]. "Sanglant," according to Nicole Gonthier, "est utilisé dans toutes les apostrophes violentes auxquelles il ajoute une note de répugnance et d'écœurement" ["bloody" is used in all violent interjections and adds a connotation of revulsion and disgust]: see Gonthier 2007, pp. 156–7.

8.1 Martyrdom of Saint Lambert.
Vies des saints,
 Paris, BnF, Ms.
 fr. 185, fol. 214r.
 Photo BnF.



Executioners are often represented as standing, in complicated positions, sometimes twisted around; in many cases they are painted in profile (9.8 percent). Their agitated state contrasts with the calm attitude of the martyr. The negativity of the portrayal is also related, in 29 percent of the illuminations we studied, to physical defects. In fact, he is often ugly. His nose is sometimes depicted as resembling the snout of a pig (Figure 8.1).¹⁸ His mouth is often open, and in a twisted position.¹⁹ His teeth, if visible, may be exaggeratedly large, like those of a snarling dog. In such cases he is represented as a brutal creature, a savage animal.²⁰ He is portrayed as being devoid of humanity. The features of his face are often grotesque or deformed, and make the entire representation seem more like a caricature than a portrait. Fairly often his head is shaven, except for a tuft of hair above the brow. The absence of hair is a mark of infamy—a shaven head is one of the humiliations that are inflicted upon those who have been found guilty of a crime—and it may also symbolize the morbid character of the profession of torturer. In other cases, he may have a full head of hair that stands up and flares out like the flames of a brazier (16.6 percent of our corpus). A reference to the devil may be implied, especially in cases where the spiky hair is replaced by wings (9.2 percent) (Figure 8.2).²¹ Of the total, 25.9 percent of illuminations display a demonic attribute in connection with the executioner's hair.

¹⁸ We have counted more than a dozen such cases in one particular manuscript: Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 185, fols. 31r, 36v, 57v, 66r, 67v, 76v, 111r, 207v, 214, 227v, 231v, 233r, 266r.

¹⁹ Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 16251, fol. 86v; or Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 185, fol. 77r.

²⁰ Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 16251, fol. 97v.

²¹ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 185, fol. 34r; Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 16251, fol. 59v. See Mellinkoff 1985.



8.2 Martyrdom of Saint Peter. *Livre d'images de Madame Marie*, Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 16251, fol. 59v. Photo BnF.

noꝝ bꝛeſſiment et en couuant demſe par
nom

Du martire ſainte demſe **C** mſ. viij.

Eſi comme ilz vivent celle
femme non pas tant ſeuſe
ment hardie, mais plus

8.3 Martyrdom of Saint Denise. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, trans. Jean de Vignay, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 51, fol. 404r. Photo BnF.

Still other elements serve to stigmatize a character who is in fact a deviant, associated with evil. Executioners make horrible faces, stick out their tongues, or display broad smiles that appear sadistic.²² “Signe de sentiments mauvais, d’impiété, d’idolâtrie, de satanisme, la langue tirée, assez rarement représentée, a une signification claire et précise” [This sign of evil intentions, of impiety, of idolatry, of Satanism, the tongue sticking out, represented fairly rarely, has a clear and precise meaning].²³ The gesture may signify the exclusion of the condemned man, or represent disrespect for the martyrs. The appearance of the executioner’s clothing may also carry a connotation of obscenity: his clothing may hang open and loose, or be too tight; his thighs may be exposed. Likewise, in order to accomplish his thankless task, he is often depicted with rolled-up sleeves or other items of clothing (short sleeves or trousers) that are worn so as to make his job easier.²⁴ He may even be scantily clad when he fans the flames around the stake, although the illuminators sometimes exaggerate matters (Figure 8.3).²⁵ Such elements make the executioner a gross and disgusting figure.

The colors of various items of clothing are also significant. The color red stands first in this regard, a “bad” shade of red that is sometimes associated with a hood that covers the face.²⁶ The color red occupies a large place in the medieval imagination. Beginning in the twelfth century, it is associated with Hell, the devil, and felony crimes, just as yellow is frequently associated with betrayal and lying in our images.²⁷ Green, which also occurs frequently, is the color of sin or transgression. Some color associations, whether connected to one person or to two persons side by side, have a particular meaning. The juxtaposition of green and yellow, which is attested in our corpus, may for example represent to the medieval eye something like aggressiveness, which corresponds quite well to the idea that people of that time period had of the function of the torturer. Clothing that is of two different colors, side by side (*vestes partitæ*), can also mark the executioner. Such a combination of colors is a sign of disorder, of transgression, or of an abnormal situation; the reason for such a representation may involve a condemnation, a physical handicap, or a loathsome disease such as leprosy, or it may symbolize the low station of a person (valets, servants) (Figure 8.4). It may also, as here, indicate an infamous occupation. Forbidden to Hebrews,²⁸ but also (from 1295) to the religious,²⁹

²² Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 241, fol. 52v.

²³ Garnier 1982, p. 137.

²⁴ He is also stigmatized by being shown with shortened sleeves or trouser legs, because such clothing, at the end of the Middle Ages, indicated that the wearer was from the laboring classes, or occupied a low and little-respected station in life (Blanc 1989, pp. 249 and 251).

²⁵ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 51, fol. 404r; or Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 50, fol. 369v.

²⁶ Pastoureau 1989.

²⁷ Pastoureau 1989.

²⁸ The prohibition (Lev. 19:19) was actually instituted with regard to the wearing of two different kinds of fabric, not two colors. See Pastoureau 1991, p. 12.

²⁹ See the *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Fratrum B. V. Mariae de Monte-Carmelo* edited in Wessels 1912, pp. 7–8. This prohibition was repeated by many diocesan synods and councils, particularly the Council of Vienne in 1311.



8.4 Martyrdom of Saint Stephen. *Livre d'images de Madame Marie*, Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 16251, fol. 76r. Photo BnF.

bi-colored clothing is not only part of an iconographic code. In the regulations of certain cities at the end of the Middle Ages, such clothing carries a similar pejorative connotation, and executioners, prostitutes, and even jugglers were ordered to wear such clothing. This was the case in Amiens, for example, where the torturers wore a robe that was half red and half green.³⁰

The executioner, in legal iconography, is the agent of a power that cleanses society from a dangerous infection; but in religious iconography he is the very hand of the Evil One. This figure carries a heavy charge of negative emotions. He may assume even greater importance than the judge who passes sentence.³¹ He is the figure that is hated,³² even if discredit also falls upon the king, emperor, or prefect (or other representative of authority) who actually hands down the death sentence, prescribes the method of torture, and is present to witness the execution.

THE EVIL JUDGE

Some of those who act as judges in sentencing people to death, such as Maxentius or Maximian, are explicitly identified as tyrants, but for the most part such judges are simply presented as cruel. Trajan Decius, according to Jacobus de Voragine, seized power by force and then “commença tres cruellement a persecuter les crestiens, et commença les destruire et occire sans misericorde” [began persecuting Christians very cruelly and began killing and slaying them without mercy].³³ The author of the *Passion de Saint-Quentin* observes that Rictius Varus (Rictiovar), prefect of Roman Gaul,³⁴ “était si enragé contre les chrétiens qu’il ne parvenait pas à étancher sa soif de leur sang” [was so enraged against Christians that he could not quench his thirst for their blood].³⁵ He goes on to say that even the most cruel tortures—Quentin was pulled apart and a heated mixture of oil, pitch, and grease was poured over his back—were not enough to “satisfaire la rage sauvage et la soif [de sang] de Rictiovar” [satisfy the savage anger and thirst [for blood] of Rictiovar].³⁶ Such judges were provoked and infuriated by the calm of Christian martyrs or by their words, and the judges’ fury led to exaggerated tortures. The punishments that had been decreed were pushed further, beyond anything related to justice.

³⁰ Dusevel 1839, p. 15, cited by Morel 2007, p. 281.

³¹ This may reflect an aspect of reality. The administrators of justice are often content to decree that the accused must “suffer death” and to specify the type of execution but the details of the method chosen to inflict death are left to the executioner. This makes his profession all the more sordid, and intensifies the hostile feelings expressed toward the person who performs this office (Gauvard 2000, p. 101).

³² Bellanger 2000, p. 165, makes the same observation in his analysis of images of the Mocking of Christ.

³³ Dunn-Lardeau 1997, pp. 721–2.

³⁴ Meijns and Mériaux 2009, p. 24, disagree with Jullian 1923 and are in agreement with the majority of scholars who hold that this person is only a symbolic character, rather than a real (and overzealous) bureaucrat of the Roman Empire.

³⁵ Text cited from Gobaille 2003, p. 22.

³⁶ Gobaille 2003, p. 41.

Iconography condemns the abuse of authority and force. In this regard, it produces an “image sciemment travestie” [knowingly distorted image]³⁷ of authority. Some princes are shown in profile or deliberately given facial features that are ugly.³⁸ Their bodies may be depicted in a contorted position,³⁹ or “contourné à sénestre” in heraldic language (facing to the left, the direction of cowardice).⁴⁰ They may be represented with their legs crossed the “wrong” way (that is, left over right), and in this way the cruel and evil nature of their decisions will be indicated to the reader/viewer.⁴¹ Sometimes the index finger that points to signify a sentence of death is represented as being broken, which also indicates the impropriety of the decision (Figure 8.5).⁴² The certainty that justice in such cases is acting in a biased and arbitrary manner is further reinforced when the execution of the Christian is commanded with the left hand, the hand that carries out misdeeds, that swears falsely, that commits treason, the hand used by the “enemies of Christ.”⁴³ The particular significance of Saracens, the enemies of Christ *par excellence* for the people of the Middle Ages, may possibly explain why 22 percent of the kings in our corpus carry Oriental sabers, and not double-edged straight-bladed swords.⁴⁴ The sword, which is normally a weapon in the service of the Good and also the Church, which defends the weak and symbolizes power as the ability to judge rightly, becomes something ambiguous. In these cases, it symbolizes bad judgment and stigmatizes the one who carries it.⁴⁵ Finally, the judge in our corpus is only rarely accompanied by legal experts, who may be recognized by their togas and by the *volumen* they carry, which symbolize the law. We have only been able to list 11 such cases, a small number considering the importance of jurists in courts from the early thirteenth century onwards, and the frequency with which they are represented in legal manuscripts.⁴⁶

³⁷ Jacob 1994, p. 154.

³⁸ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 245, fol. 61v; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 185, fols. 96v, 235v, 254v; Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 15942, fols. 5v, 7v, 15r, 42v; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 50, fol. 381r; Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 15940, fols. 155r, 158v; Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 16251, fol. 76r; and Mâcon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 3, fol. 141r.

³⁹ Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 16251, fols. 73v, 80v.

⁴⁰ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 241, fol. 106v; Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 15942, fol. 15r.

⁴¹ Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 15942, fols. 5v, 7v, 8r; Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 15940, fols. 144r, 149r, 152r.

⁴² Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 185, fols. 206v, 254v; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 183, fol. 195r; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 588, fol. 104r.

⁴³ Pastoureau 1989, p. 81. See also Kourilsky and Grapin 1968; Dehoux and Ueltschi 2009; and Ueltschi 2010.

⁴⁴ 16.6 percent of executioners also carry such sabers in illuminations that depict a decapitation (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 241, fols. 159v, 229v; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 244, fols. 135v, 197r; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 245, fols. 74v, 135r, 189r; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 50, fols. 324v, 328v, 338v, 348r, 356r, 359v).

⁴⁵ The curved blade of the saber is in contrast to the straight blade of the sword. In an alabaster sculpture of the Arrest of Christ, from the fifteenth century (Museum of Cluny, Sommerard fund, portal of Pierre de Montreuil), this contrast between two types of blade is emphasized: the soldier who threatens Jesus appears to have a saber, but Peter is about to draw a straight sword from its scabbard.

⁴⁶ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 245, fol. 34r.



8.5 Martyrdom
of Saint Denis.
Vies des saints,
Paris, BnF, Ms.
fr. 185, fol. 206v.
Photo BnF.

These iconographic realities cannot reasonably be explained with reference to chance or to the ineptitude of the painter. In fact, we know of other illuminations depicting monarchs, created by the same artists, that correspond perfectly to the model of the good prince. The images of the bad prince express disapproval, whether on the part of the illuminator or of the person who has commissioned the illumination, with regard to an improper exercise of authority. They may also express the disapproval of God himself, who may cause hail to fall and extinguish the flames around the stake,⁴⁷ send down fire from heaven to punish the persecutors or liberate the faithful,⁴⁸ or otherwise knock over the evil judges.⁴⁹ The reader/spectator may also express indignation or hatred, as many have done in the case of the executioner,⁵⁰ by

⁴⁷ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 50, fol. 389r; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 51, fol. 107r.

⁴⁸ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 50, fols. 326v, 373v, 376v, 381r.

⁴⁹ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 51, fols. 38v, 72v.

⁵⁰ It is true that a judge is less often the target of such gestures of disapproval.

8.6 Martyrdom of Saint Chrysogone.
Vies des saints,
 Paris, BnF, Ms.
 fr. 183, fol. 79v.
 Photo BnF.



scratching, marking over, or rubbing out the image of the judge. The face, “the preeminent seat of moral expression,”⁵¹ and the hand that orders executions or strikes the death blow may also be mutilated in this manner (Figure 8.6).⁵² Such mutilations are aimed not only at the action but also at the actor. Grasping the motivations that led people to deface one illumination rather than another is difficult, if not impossible. However, the evidence should not be downplayed, nor should we assume that the mutilated folios are the work of an isolated individual.

Representations of a seated king who persecutes Christians are hard to square with an ideal of the good king who dispenses justice properly. For this reason, some illuminators choose to paint a “magistrate” (an officer of the court) rather than a prince. In manuscript 588 of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, only four out of eight representations of a judge feature a king who is wearing both sword and crown.⁵³ In the other four, the sentences are pronounced by a judge wearing a hat and holding a long white rod that was associated with that office.⁵⁴ Evoking the figure of the bad judge (and

⁵¹ Schmitt 1990, p. 185.

⁵² Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 183, fols. 79v, 96v, 118r, 130r; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 185, fol. 255v.

⁵³ Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 588, fols. 12r, 118r, 130r, 173v.

⁵⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 588, fols. 104r, 154v, 163r, 179v. See Hablot 2015.

even more so, that of the evil king) gives rise to discomfort, which is already apparent in some manuscripts, but which must be even more problematic if one is decorating a book that will become the property of a king.⁵⁵ One must of course try to represent the glory of the martyrs and to depict their tortures, but putting a negative portrayal of a king before the prince's eyes may not be appropriate. The problem did not arise with regard to manuscripts such as the breviaries of Philip IV and Charles V because the king is simply absent pictorially. The images in these works show only executioners and victims. This conscious choice allows the hortatory purpose of the illustration to be fulfilled without appearing to cast aspersions on the prince's public image. When the king condemns a Christian, the question of his judgment being bad or his sentence unjust may create a kind of difference between the symbolism of royalty and/or the traditional judiciary, and the message of our images. However, this is far from always being the case.

Beyond Clichés

Fewer than 40 percent of the illuminations we examined discredit the judge who condemns the martyr. Most of the images conform to certain norms and in this way remain similar to legal or political manuscripts. In this regard, they do not always agree with the tenor of the texts they adorn. Sometimes the accompanying texts, as we have already noted, sharply reprove those who pass unjust sentences, speaking of cruel kings or even of tyrants.

THE DECISION MADE BY LEGITIMATELY EXERCISED POWER ...

We have been able to find indications of a negative value judgment rendered against particular instances of abusive authority and unjust sentences; but other elements, which occur frequently, go in the other direction, emphasizing the legitimacy of the exercise of power and showing proper regard for legal procedure. In a majority of cases, in fact, the judge is represented in quite a stereotypical manner, indistinguishable from the figure occurring in legal manuscripts. He carries the attributes of his power: sword, scepter, a crown for a king, a white rod for an officer of the court. In the *Authentique*, the legitimacy of Rictius Varus is underlined by the presence, frequently repeated,⁵⁶ of a man standing behind him with a sword. This person is noteworthy because he does not hold the sword by the handle, but holds it *per pale*, upward, still in its scabbard, which is not attached to a baldric because the man does not have one. The gesture is not an

⁵⁵ The illuminator of the *Livre d'images de Madame Marie* (Paris, BnF, Ms. naf. 16251) preferred to leave the king out. He only appears with a crown, or even a scepter, in two out of 20 illuminations devoted to martyrs and, on folio 80v, his head and his hand have been rubbed out.

⁵⁶ Saint-Quentin, Church, Ms. 1, fols. 26r, 34r, 38r, 42r.

ordinary one, because three times out of four the hand that holds the sword is covered by the cloth of the man's cloak. This arrangement is not rare in iconography. It is particularly well attested for the Carolingian period. On folio 5v of the *Codex Aureus of Saint-Emmeram* as on folio 1 of the *Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura*,⁵⁷ two men stand on either side of Charles the Bald. One is an ideal soldier, armed with a lance and a buckler; the other holds a sword, symbol of the power delegated to him by the prince, to dispense justice.⁵⁸ In a manuscript as deeply marked by Carolingian influence as the *Authentique*, associated with Rictius Varus, a man bearing a sword cannot be without significance. It allows us to define the power of the prefect, and counters the negative discourse about him by emphasizing the legitimacy of his function. Rictius Varus, as cruel as he may be, has power because it has been given to him, and the *fibula* that holds his cloak gathered or closed is a sign of this. Ernst Kantorowicz has shown that such a brooch was a mark of authority to command as well as a badge of investiture, and has argued that it positively identified a representative of the monarch.⁵⁹

The noble nature of the judicial function is also indicated by the judge's clothing. He wears a full cloak, which hangs to his feet, letting only the points of his shoes show. The judge is most often depicted in a three-quarter view (87.5 percent of cases), and whether he is standing (60 percent) or seated (40 percent), he is shown in a stable position, appearing to hold himself somewhat stiffly, which is a sign of his firmness and determination in the exercise of power (Figure 8.7). This is also a reference to the neutral attitude he is supposed to maintain: he must not be biased, must not "incline" to one side or the other, but must maintain impartiality.⁶⁰



8.7 Martyrdom of Saint Jude Quiriacus. *Vies des saints*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 185, fol. 86v. Photo BnF.

⁵⁷ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Clm. 14000, fol. 5v; Rome, Basilica Papale di San Paolo fuori le Mura, fol. 1r.

⁵⁸ Migne 1881, col. 481.

⁵⁹ Kantorowicz 1989, pp. 301 and 536.

⁶⁰ On this particular point of detail, see Chapter 7, this volume.

The seated position, in the view of the time, was best suited to properly rendering judgment. In fact, illuminators of hagiographic books often present the judge in a posture that is specific to the exercise of legal authority: sitting, with the right leg crossed over the left.⁶¹ The right index finger points at the accused in 55.7 percent of the illuminations we studied, marking the moment when sentence is pronounced and indicating that the judgment made is not in any way illegitimate. This image could not be more stereotypical. The “Fauvel Master” who illuminated Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 183 which we have studied here depicts scenes of the judgment of Solomon and King David calling for the execution of the Amalekite who killed Saul, displaying a prince similar to others in our corpus.⁶² The message that is conveyed is one of a good judge and a system of justice that is trying to be legitimate. It is possible to denounce the cruelty of a judge or the tyranny of a monarchy, but there is no systematic accusation of the institution or the function occupied by the person who is the target of criticism; far from it.

Many emperors, kings, and prefects are known to have exhibited a desire to conduct trials in a just and legal manner. Pliny the Younger, for example, as governor of Bithynia, wrote to Trajan to ask him how Christians were to be handled.⁶³ Manuscripts concerning the Passion of a martyr or various *Vitæ* also attest to the attention given to proceeding in a legitimate manner. These manuscripts are full of details that are evidence of a scrupulous respect for the law, for Imperial legal practice, and for the legal powers belonging to each representative of the system of justice. In the thirteenth century, compilers like Jacobus de Voragine took note of summonses, warrants, and interrogations, and then were careful to record the verdicts reached, the sentences handed down, and the subsequent orders given. Hagiographic writings thus support the conclusions of legal historians concerning the legitimacy and proper conduct of trials of Christians. A large majority of our images also express this idea. They bear witness to the respect in which the institution of the law is held, and especially the *auctoritas* of the monarch, even if he is a pagan. For princes who have bad reputations in history, such as Nero or Julian the Apostate,⁶⁴ the mere mention of their names allows them to be identified or singled out. A bad man may be discredited, but his function remains intact.

⁶¹ “The judge should be seated on the seat of justice like a growling lion, crossing his right leg over his left, concentrating on making the right judgment about the case before him, with the God of the Last Judgment over his head,” *Book of the Municipal Statutes of Soest*, Westphalia, ca. 1450, quoted by Jacob 1994, p. 59.

⁶² For examples of Solomon, see Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 22, fol. 187r; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 8, fol. 150r; and of David, see Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 156, fol. 152v; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 311, fol. 77r; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 20, fol. 151r; and Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 22, fol. 180v. The attitude of these kings is comparable to that of the prophet Elijah when he condemned the people, as represented in another illumination in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 8, fol. 121v.

⁶³ Text cited from Williams 1973, X, pp. 96–7. Latin text: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/pliny.ep10.html>.

⁶⁴ This is the case for Nero, Julian, Dacianus, and Diocletian: see Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 50, fols. 309r, 315r; and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 51, fols. 30r, 34r, 37v, 64v, 143v, 144v.

The “*éclat des supplices*” [shock effect of torture]⁶⁵ and the search for an exemplary punishment is sometimes the sign of one man’s cruelty, but the sheer multiplicity of forms of torture is also a sign of the desire to make Roman justice effective. The desired effect is that the mass of the population should learn what happens to people who violate various norms, and that people should be dissuaded through fear from committing crimes. Here the will of the princes and the will of God are identical.

... AND IN AGREEMENT WITH THE WILL OF GOD

The painter insists on showing the invisible in a number of illuminations, including those in which the judge is portrayed in a positive manner. In so doing, the painter can reveal to the person looking at the illustration the presence of angels who accompany the martyr while he is being tortured, giving him support and encouragement.⁶⁶ In this way, the reader is reassured about the eventual fate of the martyr in the world beyond. The halo given to the Christian⁶⁷ and the angels who take charge of his soul when it exits its fleshly envelope⁶⁸ show that the martyr has gained salvation through the resilience of his faith and his perseverance. This is not the only objective; the design is even more ambitious. Rays of sunlight shining on the face of the Christian who has been condemned to death,⁶⁹ figures of Christ,⁷⁰ of the Virgin Mary,⁷¹ and of God (or only His hand extended in a blessing) (Figure 8.8)⁷² all make manifest the benevolence of the divine. God can heal wounds or miraculously prevent a torture, but His action in such a case only postpones the moment of death, because the martyr serves a purpose. The Christian who dies in such circumstances is bringing God’s plan to fruition. He contributes through the shedding of his blood to the strengthening of the Church. He is also helping to spread Christianity in the region where God has willed that he should die, and where he shall subsequently be honored.⁷³ He then rejoins the group of witnesses whose examples are put forward for the edification of other Christians, particularly those who had read the manuscripts we are studying and who had meditated on them.⁷⁴ His participation in the realization of God’s plan transcends his own entry into Paradise. The judge in such cases is thus revealed as having himself

⁶⁵ Foucault 1975, p. 36 onwards.

⁶⁶ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 51, fols. 54r, 58r, 72v; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 50, fols. 380r, 381r, 383r; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 244, fol. 128v.

⁶⁷ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 51, fols. 85v, 114r.

⁶⁸ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 185, fol. 79v; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 244, fol. 9r.

⁶⁹ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 244, fol. 54v; Mâcon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 3, fols. 135v, 151v.

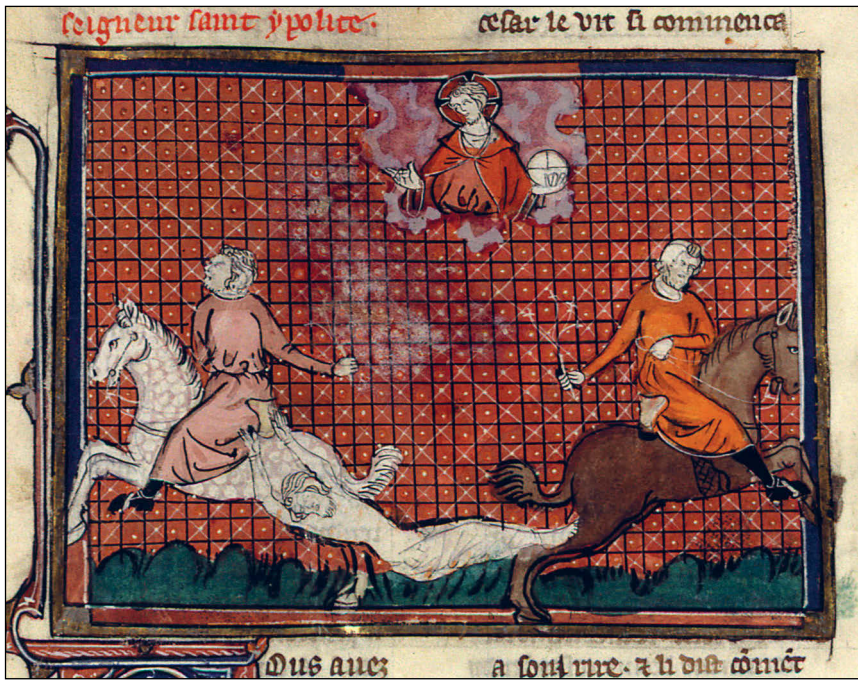
⁷⁰ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 183, fol. 213v.

⁷¹ Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 51, fol. 95v.

⁷² Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 244, fols. 9r, 29r; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 241, fols. 159v, 316r.

⁷³ This aspect is particularly emphasized in hagiographic narratives of the High Middle Ages: see Piétri 1990.

⁷⁴ Vauchez 1986.



8.8 Martyrdom of Saint Hippolyte. *Vies des saints*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 183, fol. 213v. Photo BnF.

participated in God's plan, unwittingly, and despite his own intentions. In fact, he can be considered in a more positive light than the executioner, who uses violence against one of God's chosen, sometimes with pleasure and even delight. This principle, and the distinction that is made between the monarch, the magistrate, and the torturer, do not hold good only for martyrs. It applies also to the death sentence received by Christ. Pilate once enjoyed a fairly positive image (it suffered in the final centuries of the Middle Ages when the "ymagiers" [illuminators] emphasized the presence of Jews at the moment when Pilate decides Jesus' sentence, and their influence on the decision).⁷⁵ This idea was expressed by Gregory the Great. The pope in fact insisted on the necessity of Christ's death, emphasizing that it was a condition *sine qua non* for the salvation of mankind, and thus that any maneuver that intended to put a distance between Christ and the cross could only have been inspired by the devil. For people in the Middle Ages, the dream of Pilate's wife which leads her to exhort her husband not to sentence Jesus was an example of this.⁷⁶ The artist who painted this scene in a panel preserved at Utrecht wanted to take no chances on the image not being understood in the proper sense, and so he added a demon standing behind Pilate's wife, in order that the reader looking at the image would understand that she was indeed an agent of Satan.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Hourihane 2009.

⁷⁶ Matt. 27:19.

⁷⁷ Utrecht, Catharijneconvent Museum (ABM 106).

Conclusion

The analysis of our corpus has allowed us to confirm or, as the case may be, to cast doubt upon several assumptions commonly made concerning the manner in which the exercise of power and the administration of justice are portrayed in the iconography of martyrs. The pejorative view of the torturer was expected and has been confirmed, but the figure of the judge has revealed a few surprises. We might have expected that the figure of the judge would be characterized negatively. The majority of religious manuscripts, however, still present an image of the judge that is more or less comparable to that which is found in the decoration of legal manuscripts. Respect for the institution of the king and the system of justice, and attention paid to the will of God and to His plan, might explain the repetition of such stereotypes; as with the use of sketches in painting workshops, there is a prior model. We must nonetheless remain circumspect, because illuminators do retain a certain freedom of expression.⁷⁸ They can portray a bad judge, and choose to portray an arrangement that is not stereotyped, and in so doing they make all attempts at generalization more difficult. Our images offer through their diversity—and (in certain cases) their contradictions—a representation of power and justice that is different from that which is found in legal manuscripts. These are in some respects departures from a norm. They thus allow us to present a more precise picture of an ideal, and to grasp a little better the perception people had during the Middle Ages of authority and its exercise, or at least to understand better the sheer complexity of this perception.

⁷⁸ Berliner 1945; Baschet 1996; and Schmitt 2002.

Beastly Power, Holy Justice in Late Medieval France: From Robert Gobin's *Loups ravissans* to Books of Hours

Mary Beth Winn

Résumé français: Robert Gobin, prêtre et avocat ecclésiastique, fit publier à Paris vers 1506 un traité moral intitulé *Les Loups ravissans*, prosimetrum allégorique où l'Acteur assiste en songe à un débat entre une douce bergère, Sainte Doctrine, et son ennemi, Archilupus. Alors que la bergère met en garde ses brebis contre les loups qui ravagent la cour et l'église, Archilupus vante les loups qui, à travers l'histoire, ont accédé au pouvoir par la fraude et la tromperie. Ces "loups ravissans," dont Gobin fournit des exemples précis, seront toutefois vaincus lorsque Accident et la Mort les entraînent de force vers une ultime danse macabre. Traîtres, usurpateurs, voleurs, fraudeurs seront punis selon leurs crimes avant d'être livrés au Jugement dernier, car les criminels sont aussi des pécheurs et leurs peines ne font qu'annoncer la condamnation éternelle. Dans la première édition, due au célèbre libraire Anthoine Vérard, le texte est illustré par des gravures sur bois représentant un cadavre saisissant ses victimes. Surprenantes par leur vigueur, elles seront ensuite copiées par trois imprimeurs parisiens afin d'accompagner l'Office des morts dans leurs livres d'Heures, rappelant ainsi par images que la justice, séculière et divine, sera exaucée.

Robert Gobin, priest and counsel in ecclesiastical courts,¹ composed the *Loups ravissans* as a "doctrinal moral" [moral treatise] against sin and vice, but he adopted the allegorical framework of a dream vision to develop his instructions. In the dream, which the prologue specifically dates to January 1, 1505, the "Acteur" [Author-Narrator] witnesses the conflict between "Archilupus" [Archwolf], leading a rowdy band of wolves, and "Sainte Doctrine" [Holy Doctrine], a saintly shepherdess protecting her flock of sheep. Archwolf, seated on a throne, teaches "tout mal et iniquité" [all evil

¹ In the colophon to the work, he is defined as "prestre, maistre es ars, licencié en decret, doyen de crestienté de Laigny sur Marne au dyocese de Paris, advocat en court d'eglise" [priest, master of arts, licensed in law, spiritual dean of the district of Laigny-sur-Marne in the diocese of Paris, counsel in ecclesiastical courts].

and iniquity] to the young wolves surrounding him, while across the field the shepherdess urges her lambs to observe virtue according to Holy Scripture. The author overhears the lessons, as Archwolf promotes the vices of hatred, envy, avarice, and gluttony, while the shepherdess warns her sheep to stay away from the wolves, dangerous and cruel, who are overrunning the city of Paris, monasteries and Parliament, the courts of Church and State. This sets the stage for a long debate between Archwolf and Holy Doctrine, filled with examples from the past and the present.

A *prosimetrum* combining French prose and verse with scholarly Latin references in the margins, Gobin's dream is framed as a grammar manual in 12 chapters, each of which focuses on a particular element. Grammar terms, however, are interpreted satirically through wordplay and puns to subvert the meaning: "declensions" teach how to decline all virtue; "regime" prescribes gluttony, by means of its transposition from grammatical case to diet; "accent" proposes musical renditions of bawdy songs. Each chapter relates moreover to one of the 12 months of the year, Archwolf changing location, persona, and dress accordingly. From doctor to judge to monk, his chameleon disguise fosters a critique of contemporary fashion and food as well as of moral turpitude within the highest ranks of Church and State. Not surprisingly, Archwolf's lessons are far more colorful and exciting than those of the shepherdess, because he recounts the exploits of famous "wolves" — that is, those who have become infamous for their misdeeds. These include past figures from history, mythology, or scripture to more contemporary examples of people in power, including popes and high-ranking political officials—in all, a tapestry of sinners, traitors, and tyrants whose power relies on fraud and deceit. Throughout history, the wolves have plundered, raped, betrayed, and assassinated their victims, but in the end, they must be vanquished, and the work concludes with a revised Dance of Death in which the figure named Accident, seconded by his handmaidens, "Guerre" [War], "Famine," and "Mortalité" [Mortality], renders inexorable justice to those who have sided with the wolves.

Early Editions

No manuscript of Gobin's work is known, but a first printed quarto edition of 308 leaves was published in Paris at an unspecified date by the renowned *libraire*, Anthoine Vérard.² It must have been issued before March 15, 1506/07 when Michel Le Noir produced the second edition.³ As was his custom,

² Macfarlane 1900, no. 169. The edition collates: a-z6 [et]6 aa-zz6 [2et]6 A-C6 D2; the last section on Death and Accident extends for 62 leaves, fols. ss1r-D2r. About Vérard, see Winn 1997. I am preparing a critical edition of Gobin's text from Vérard's *editio princeps*; all references below are to the Vérard edition.

³ It copies Vérard's edition, including the first set of woodcuts, but not the second set. Three copies are known: New York Public Library, Spencer Coll. French 1506 10-136; Vienna,

Vérard took care to illustrate the volume with woodcuts, and he printed one copy on vellum, in which the woodcuts were illuminated.⁴ The first scene of the Acteur in bed dreaming employs a woodcut originally used in Vérard's edition of the *Roman de la Rose*, but altered so that the figure of "Amour" [the God of Love] has been removed from the image.⁵ The rest of Gobin's poem is illustrated with two sets of woodcuts. The first set of 15 images depicts wolves and sheep, but anthropomorphized, since Archwolf walks upright or is seated in human fashion. Two of these illustrations are in fact cropped versions of the woodcuts used in another earlier edition by Vérard: Jean Bouchet's *Regnars traversant les perilleuses voyes des folles fiances du monde*.⁶ The *Regnars* edition, for which Vérard had had a set of woodcuts specially made, precedes that of the *Loups* by perhaps only a year. In black and white images, foxes and wolves are similar enough to provide a connection even if the popularity of the *Roman de Renart* had not already done so. But Bouchet's text in fact serves as a sort of preface to Gobin's, because it identifies ravenous wolves as the ruinous ministers of justice. For the first image (Figure 9.1) Bouchet relates: "je trouvay soubz ung grant arbre ung loup en chaire tribunalle et autour de luy plusieurs renars patrocins et devant luy grant quantité de coqs, poules et autre volaille" [I found under a big tree a wolf in the judge's seat, and around him several foxes discoursing, and before him a great lot of roosters, hens, and other fowl] (fol. e1r). The scrolls above their heads contain biblical inscriptions in Latin. The first, from the book of

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *38.Q.53; Washington, DC, Rosenwald Coll., PQ1625. G38 L6 1506. Michel Le Noir's son, Philippe, issued ca. 1525 the third edition, known from three copies, now in Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 8 Z 6596 INV 9849 RES; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 4° 10822 A [Rés]; and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 8° 43924.

⁴ In addition to the vellum copy (Paris, BnF, Rés. Vélins 2258), eight paper copies are known: Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ 515.05.431; Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château, VI.G.18; London, BL, C.34.g.31; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce G 260; Paris, BnF, Rés. Ye 851; Paris, BnF, Rés. Ye 852; Philadelphia, Library Company, Six Gobi Log 873.Q; Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale, Goujet G6-G7. In two of the copies (Paris, BnF, Rés. Ye 851, and Philadelphia), the woodcut on fol. zz6r is printed upside down, indicating that there are at least two states of this edition.

⁵ The woodcut is reproduced in Bourdillon 1906, pl. XX. Vérard published four editions of the *Roman de la Rose* between 1493 and ca. 1505 (GW 11858, 11859, 11860, X Sp.371b); the woodcut comes from his first edition, of which a digitized copy is available online at the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Bonn (<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de/ulbbn/content/titleinfo/1658335>).

⁶ Vérard's first edition (in-folio) of the *Regnars* was published between September 1503 and May 1504; the second edition (in-4°), some years later: see Britnell 1986, pp. 304–6. The two re-used woodcuts depict Archwolf, on fol. b2v, standing, wearing a cape and hat ("vestuz de habitz de gentilz hommes" [dressed in clothes of a gentleman]), and on fol. e1r, seated on a high-backed chair with foxes standing at the left. The latter woodcut (fol. e1r) measures 121×148 mm in the first edition of the *Regnars*, the width cropped to 117 mm in the second edition, and only 100 mm in the *Loups*. Vérard published the editions of the *Regnars* under the name of Sebastien Brant and added miscellaneous other works to the editions, causing a protest by Bouchet, a subsequent lawsuit, and Bouchet's assumption of the pen-name "le traverseur des voies perilleuses" [he who traverses the perilous ways]. See Britnell 1986, pp. 81–9; Armstrong 2000, pp. 159–73; and Dauvois 2007.

9.1 The wolf as judge. Jean Bouchet, *Les Regnars traversant ...* (Paris: Vérard, ca. 1504), Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, BGE Hf 313 (1), fol. e1r. Photo Bibliothèque de Genève.



Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), is rendered in French by Bouchet as “le royaulme se changera et passera de gent en gent pour les injustices et mauvaistiez qui se font en icelluy.”⁷ The second, from Zephaniah, declares that “her judges are wolves.”⁸ From this the Acteur concludes: “par ceste figure estoient entenduz les ministrateurs de justice” [by this image were understood the administrators of justice] (fol. e1r). In the text that follows, Bouchet considers the “fol gouvernement des princes qui cause leur ruyne” [foolish government of princes that causes their ruin] (fol. e1r), and he addresses the kings “soubz lesquelz est administree justice par les loups affamez” [under whom justice is administered by famished wolves]. This woodcut is used in the *Loups ravissans* (fol. b2v) as the very first image of wolves (Figure 9.2), but it is reduced in size, and the texts have been altered to an explanatory phrase in both French and Latin verse: “Cy le grant loup ses louveteaulx/ Enseigne estre desloyaulx” (“Hic lupus suos lupilos: instruit esse iniquos”) [Here the great wolf teaches his young wolves to be dishonest]. The painted

⁷ “Regnum a gente in gentem transiet propter iniusticias et universos dolos. Eccle. x.ca.” One significant word has been altered from the biblical citation: “universos” replaces the less comprehensive “diversos”: Eccles. 10:8, “regnum a gente in gentem transfertur propter iniustitias ... et diversos dolos” [A kingdom is translated from one people to another, because of injustices ... and divers deceits].

⁸ “Iudices eorum sunt lupi. Sophonias tercio capitulo”; compare Zeph. 3:3, “iudices eius lupi vespere” [her judges are evening wolves]. By omitting the modifier, Bouchet has not limited the wolves to the evening.



Di desirez science auoir
 Il vous conuient diligemment
 Estudier pour bien scauoir
 Vostre gramaire seurement
 Entendez y assemblément
 Car cest pour vostre grant prouffit
 Que le vous dy certainement

9.2 The wolf as judge; image reduced with new caption in French. Robert Gobin, *Les Loups ravissans* (Paris: Vérard, ca. 1505), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ 515.05.431, fol. b2v. Photo Houghton Library, Harvard University.

9.3 Painted and altered image of the wolf as judge, teaching his young. Robert Gobin, *Les Loups ravissans* (Paris: Vêrard, ca. 1505), Paris, BnF, Rés. Vélins 2258, fol. b2v. Photo BnF.



version has altered the rather incongruous chicken to a more appropriate wolf-like animal (Figure 9.3). The teachings of Archwolf can be summed up by all the vices, for as Gobin tells us: “je n’entens par ce grant loup sinon le dyable d’enfer qui conduyt, paist et nourrit les maudis pecheurs” [by this great wolf I mean the devil who leads, feeds, and nourishes the accursed sinners] (fol. a4r).

Throughout the 12 chapters, there are miscellaneous references to justice and power, with the great wolf inciting his pupils to abuse both of them by any means. “Gardez vous bien de juger droitement” [Refrain from judging rightly], he says in chapter 7 (fol. aa2r), and he urges above all using positions of power to gain wealth: “jugez par haine et par dons” [judge according to hatred and gifts] (ch. 8, fol. dd2r). He assures them that in France, usury is rampant. Archwolf is well aware, nonetheless, of the punishments for such crimes, for he enumerates those that await criminals who are caught:

"C'est assavoir vous adventurer à estre banis, mutillez, tuez, boullus, par faulce monnoye forger, pendus, par efforcer femmes et filles, commectre meurtre, sacrilege et larcin" [That is, to venture to be banished, mutilated, killed, boiled, for forging counterfeit money, hanged, for raping women and girls, for committing murder, sacrilege, and larceny] (ch. 2, fol. f3r).⁹

He identifies where the guilty will be hanged: "L'autre est pendu qui l'a bien desservy/ À Monfaulcon ou à une potence [The other is hanged, who deserved it, at Montfaucon or at a gibbet] (ch. 2, fol. e6v), and he considers the options that await the thief, who is

... coupable
D'aucun larrecin vituperable;
... on le pendroit
Ou la teste on luy couperoit
Ou au feu on le metteroit
Selon son cas.

[guilty of some invidious larceny ... he would be hanged, or beheaded, or burned at the stake, according to his case.] (ch. 5, fol. s2v)

Only one contemporary example is given, however, and it is the notorious case of the student who in 1503 stole the sacred host during mass at the Sainte-Chapelle (ch. 3).¹⁰ Unrepentant, he was condemned by Parlement to have his hand cut off and then to be burned alive at the pig market. Gobin says that he witnessed the execution, and it is one of the three dates he provides in his text.

Death and Accident: A New *Danse Macabre*

At the end of chapter 12, the wolves are attacked by three shepherds wielding a sword, a spear, and a club, and accompanied by dogs. The sight is so horrific that the Acteur faints, but he awakes to another "vision trop plus horrible et merueilleuse" [vision too horrible and terrible] (fol. rr6v): two figures, Death and Accident, are leading a dance of those "qui en leur vie avoient esté remplis de vice et iniquité et avoient ensuyvy la doctrine et instruction mauvaïse du faulx loup Archilupus" [who in their lifetime had been filled with vice and iniquity and had followed the doctrine and malicious instruction of the false wolf, Archwolf] (fol. rr6v). This section, although attached to the first, differs from it in many ways, raising the possibility that it had first been an independent poem. It consists of 323 stanzas of verse, without prose, for a

⁹ In chapter 10, the shepherdess summarizes similar "temporal" penalties for crimes as opposed to "eternal" punishment: "La paine temporelle qui est au monde en justice, c'est de tenir prison, payer despens, estre batu, fustigé, ou porter mort corporelle selon l'exigence du cas" [Temporal punishment according to this world's justice is to be imprisoned, to pay costs, to be beaten, whipped, or to suffer bodily death, as the case requires] (fol. nn4v).

¹⁰ A brief account of the incident is recorded in the *Chroniques* of Jean d'Auton; see the edition in Maulde la Clavière 1893, vol. 3, pp. 270–272.

total of 3,120 lines, printed on 62 leaves at the end of the volume. Although Gobin takes care to link this section to that of the wolves, he also distinguishes the two parts in a line preceding his final “excusacion de l’Auteur” [apology of the author]: “J’ay d’Accident et des loups fait ce livre” [Of Accident and wolves have I written this book] (fol. D1r).

Accident appears as a major protagonist, assisted by Death’s handmaidens, War, Famine, and Mortality. Accident is not Gobin’s invention; he had appeared in Pierre Michault’s *Dance aux aveugles* (ca. 1464) and the *Pas de la Mort*¹¹ by Amé de Montgesoie (ca. 1465) as well as in the *Chevalier délibéré* of Olivier de La Marche (1483). In these works, however, Accident is mounted on a horse or a monstrous creature, and his actions in their suddenness are contrasted with those of his companion (called “Eaige” [Age] or “Anticque le Debile” [Antiquity the Infirm]).¹² Gobin does not offer an opposing elderly figure, and his Accident is hardly distinguishable from Death itself. Indeed, the author’s own terminology suggests some ambiguity, for his final vision invokes “accidents” in the plural. The earth splits open and Death enters the chasm “avec tous les corps/ De ceulx dont j’ay les ditz et les recors/ Escriptz comme ilz comptoient leurs accidens” [with all the bodies of those whose deeds and sayings I have written as they recounted their accidents] (fol. C6v).

It is this Dance of Death that inspired Vérard to have an entirely new set of woodcuts specially created: 23 large horizontal cuts, each measuring about 100×120 mm, depicting a cadaver seizing victims from a group, no longer wolves and foxes but men and women in action. The anthropomorphism has vanished, the allegory of the wolves fading into a strictly human dance. Remarkable for their bold lines, vigorous poses, and dramatic expressions, the woodcuts punctuate the text and propel the reader inescapably into the recognition of human mortality and fleeting time. The number of images—24, including one repeat—is surely not coincidental. Designed by an artist whose work is evident in other contemporary editions, they have been called the earliest examples of the “creative cut,”¹³ and they apparently resonated so

¹¹ Wrongly attributed to Pierre Michault in Petit 1869, this work was in fact composed by Amé de Montgesoie and dedicated to his patron, Isabelle de Bourbon. See the edition in Walton 1933.

¹² Michault’s *Dance aux aveugles* describes “Eaige” and Accident as “menestreux,” minstrels who accompany Death, the first sounding his flute and drum, the second a horn. See the edition in Folkart 1980, pp. 112–15. In the *Pas de la Mort*, “Anticque le Debile” [Antiquity the Infirm] rides in the “brouette de Langueur” [wheelbarrow of Languor] while Accident “le Soudain” [the Sudden] sits astride a monster. See Walton 1933, p. 5. Both Accident and “Debile” appear as knights of Death in Olivier de La Marche’s *Chevalier délibéré*, published by Vérard in 1488. See the facsimile edition produced by the Library of Congress, Washington, DC, in Mongan 1946.

¹³ Furst 1924, p. 42. Woodcuts in a similar style are found in Vérard’s editions of *Valere le Grant*, ca. 1499 (Macfarlane no. 153), *Therence en françois*, ca. 1499 (Macfarlane no. 152), *Le Livre des persecutions des Crestiens* by Bonifacius Simoneta, ca. 1507 (Macfarlane no. 167), *Le Proprietaire en françois* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus, ca. 1499 (Macfarlane no. 146). For reproductions of some of the woodcuts, see Davies 1961, pp. 405, 784–5, 830; and Macfarlane pl. XLIV.

strongly with the public that they were immediately copied, by at least three different printers, for use in Books of Hours to accompany the Office of the Dead.¹⁴ For other publishers as well as for later critics, Gobin's *danse macabre* with these stunning woodcuts assumed the defining title: "les Accidents de l'homme" [the Accidents of Man].

Gobin's "Dance" contrasts markedly from earlier *danses macabres* first printed by Guy Marchant in 1485 and imitated by various printers, including Vérard in 1492, whose deluxe, illuminated version on vellum was prepared for Charles VIII.¹⁵ In these versions, the cadaver is not Death itself, but a dead person ("le mort") who seizes his victims, one by one, in hierarchical order. The dance proceeds by couples—the dead paired with the living, each pair positioned beneath an arch and above a text, one stanza for the dead, the second stanza for the living. The victims lament their passing, regretting the loss of their power or youth, but never accusing death of anything more than arriving too soon or not respecting their rank, for death is the great equalizer whose coming is unpredictable. The underlying moral is that one should lead a good life now so as to be assured of a good death whenever it arrives.

In Gobin's "Accidents," the emphasis has altered. It is Death itself—*la Mort*—who seizes the victims, not one by one, but in groups. It is no longer a dance, but an attack—sometimes by the scythe or spear of Death itself but often by human actors who are presented as criminals, for Death here punishes misdeeds. Secular crime, however, is also equated with moral sin, and the victims are all considered "pecheurs qui font le contraire des commandemens de Sainte Doctrine, c'est de Dieu" [sinners who disobey the commandments of Holy Doctrine, that is of God] (fol. ss1r) and follow Archwolf, the devil himself. Death is no longer the equalizer, but the judge and executioner of the wolves. The punishments correspond to those in use for secular criminals in late medieval France, but they are the mere preface to what awaits them as sinners, for, not surprisingly, the final scene is of the Last Judgment.

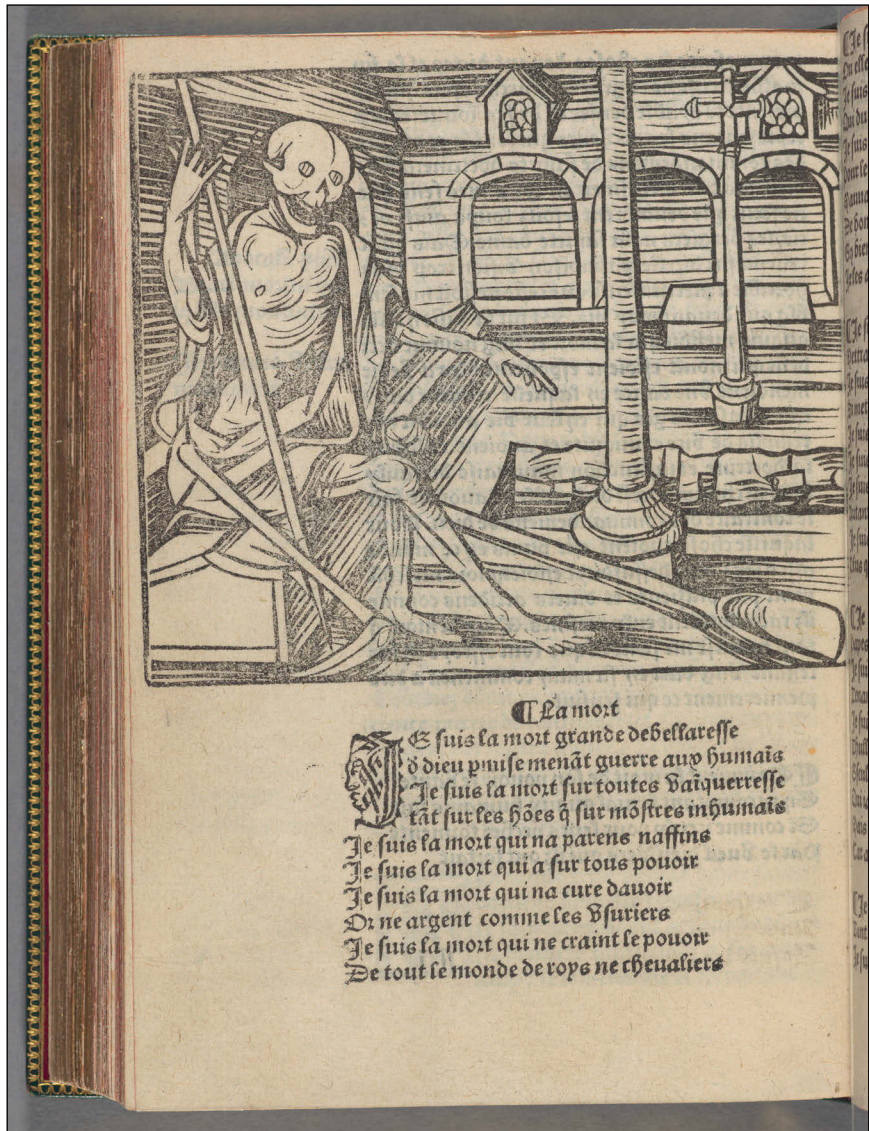
The Wolves: Criminals and their Punishments

To begin, however, Death, in the form of a cadaver, sits in a walled cemetery, holding a spear, with a scythe and shovel to her side (Figure 9.4). Death brags that she has killed philosophers such as Seneca, Aristotle, and Cicero, the

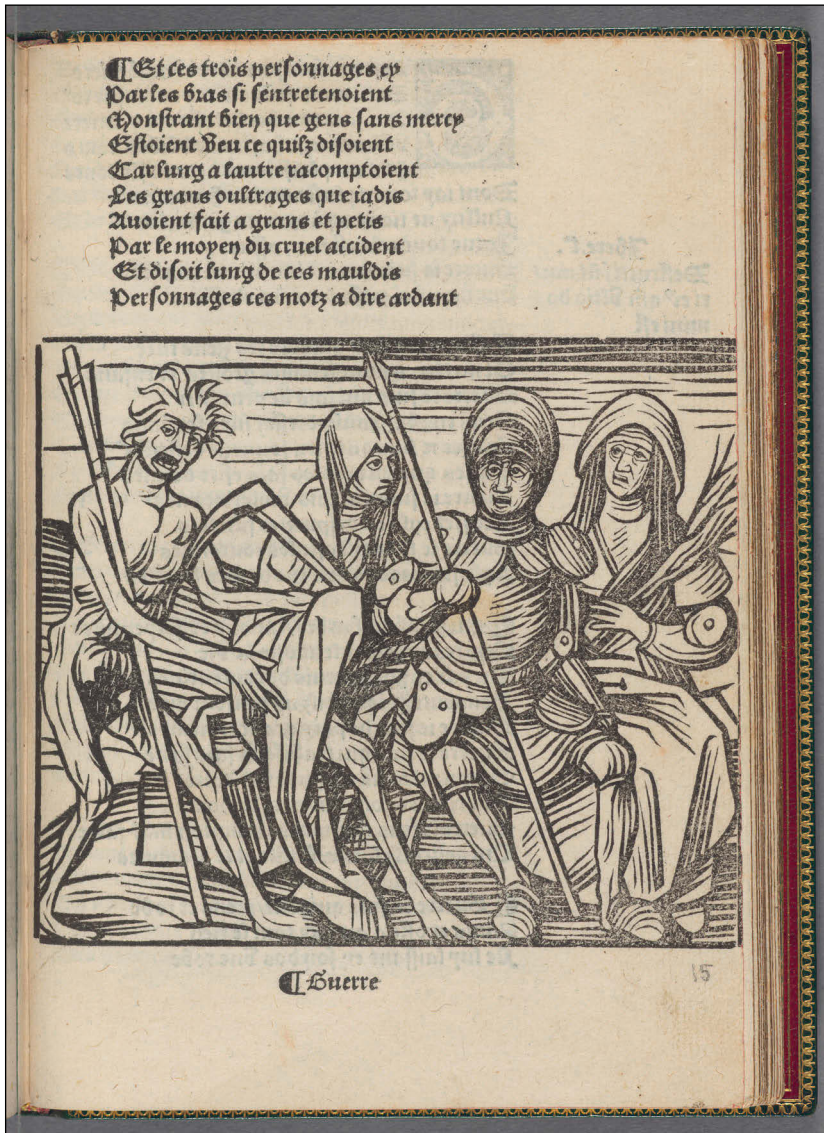
¹⁴ Simon Vostre, Gilles Hardouyn, and Guillaume Godard created sets of "Accident" images based on Vérard's woodcuts, but greatly reduced in size and altered in orientation from horizontal to vertical so as to fit in the outer, lateral margin of the page. About their use in Books of Hours, see Zöhl 2006; Winn 2009; and examples in Nettekoven and Tenschert 2003, pp. 813, 847, 856–7.

¹⁵ Paris, BnF, Est-Rés-Te 8-Fol; see images on the BnF's Banque d'images website. Marchant's edition has been digitized and can be viewed on the BnF's Gallica website. See also the facsimile edition contained in Champion 1925.

9.4 Death seated in a cemetery. Robert Gobin, *Les Loups ravissans* (Paris: Vêrard, ca. 1505), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library Typ 515.05.431, fol. ss1v. Photo Houghton Library, Harvard University.



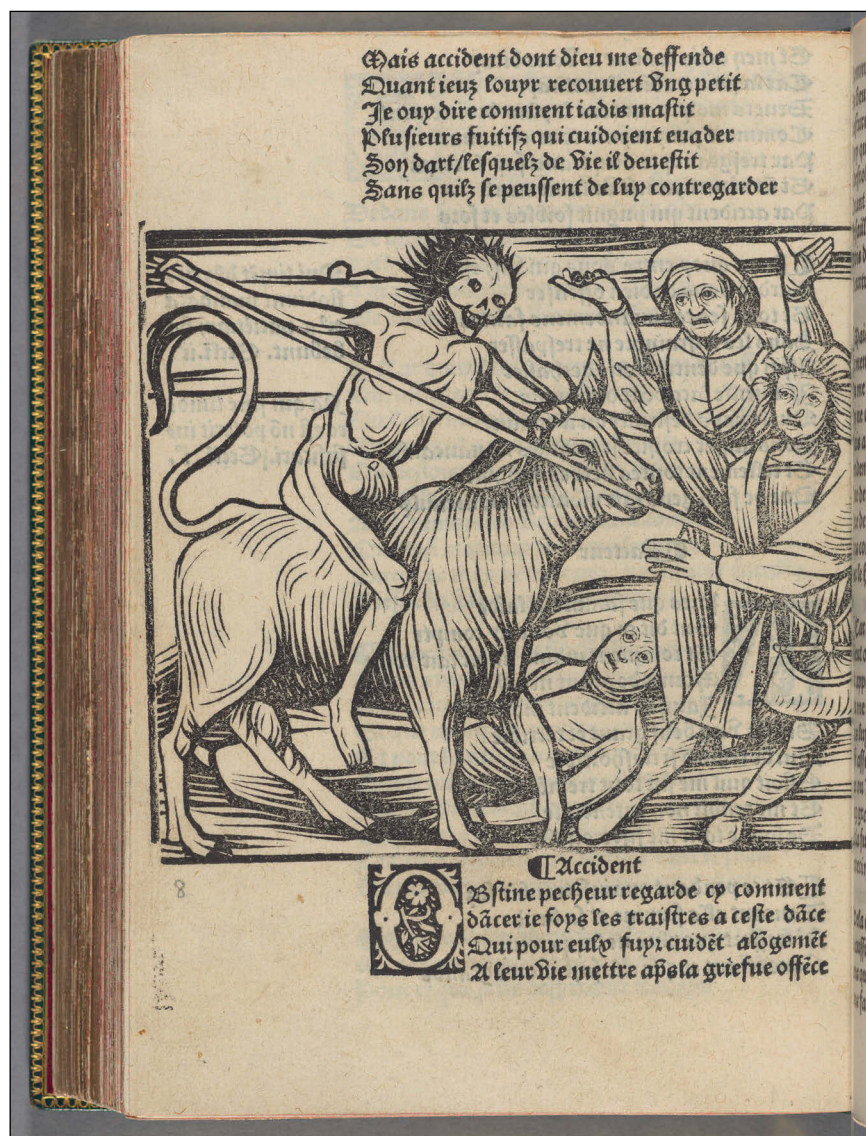
Nine Worthies, and even the Son of God. She has accomplished all this with the help of her companion, Accident, who enters the scene boasting of his power over all humanity. He describes the various methods at his disposal: drowning, burning, hanging, sickness. His victims die for any reason or none, in bed or in a river—it makes no difference to him or to Death how they reach Heaven or Hell. The victims themselves then relate their own stories, to explain why and how they died. First to speak is Adam who, while blaming Eve for having given him an apple, accuses himself of gluttony for having eaten it and pride for having thought he could outwit God by disobeying him. Cain follows, represented in the act of killing his brother Abel. The text



9.5 Death with her handmaidens: Famine, War, and Mortality. Robert Gobin, *Les Loups ravissans* (Paris: Vérard, ca. 1505), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library Typ 515.05.431, fol. vv4r. Photo Houghton Library, Harvard University.

emphasizes not only his guilt for fratricide but also his sin of envy, which caused him to kill. Death then addresses the three estates: nobles, clerics of the church, and the "third estate" of laborers, merchants, and lawyers. None can withstand the assault of Death's three handmaidens, War, Famine, and Mortality, who sit together in another woodcut (Figure 9.5). Once again, their victims, ancient and modern, from Cyrus, king of Persia, to Pope Alexander VI Borgia, tell of their guilt and their death. To this point in the text, death is seen as a punishment for enumerated sins: gluttony, wrath, pride, lust, and sloth. War is caused by greed and cupidity; sickness results from the sins of the princes.

9.6 Accident
 astride a bull.
 Robert Gobin,
*Les Loups
 ravissans* (Paris:
 Vêrard, ca. 1505),
 Cambridge,
 MA, Harvard
 University,
 Houghton
 Library Typ
 515.05.431, fol.
 xx6v. Photo
 Houghton
 Library, Harvard
 University.



But when Accident arrives (Figure 9.6),¹⁶ seated on a bull,¹⁶ he attacks traitors and criminals whom he identifies by name and who in turn relate their own story. The first is Ganelon, the betrayer of Roland, who delivers a message that no traitor should be spared Death.¹⁷ From then on, the figures and their crimes are historical, and Gobin enters the realm of secular justice.

¹⁶ For the tradition of Death seated on a bull, see Laborde 1923; Roy 1979; and Bethmont-Gallerand 2003. In the woodcuts for Gobin's text, the same image of the cadaver is used to represent both Death and Accident.

¹⁷ Ganelon is considered one of the "figures archétypales" [archetypal figures] of the traitor in Faure 1997. For visual representations, see Raynaud 1997, pp. 67–89.

OFFICIALS WHO USURP POWER

The first group consists of those who have tried to usurp governments—political enemies of the people who are punished for their excessive pride. Two names are cited: Nectanebus, the astrologer and magician whom Alexander, while receiving a lesson in astrology, suddenly threw into a deep pit, breaking his neck;¹⁸ and Marcus Manlius, three times Roman consul who defended the Capitol against the invading Gauls, thereby earning the name “Capitolanus.” When afterwards, however, he tried to seize power, the senate condemned him to death and threw him into the Tiber river from the Tarpeian rock.

Accident explains that those who “par folle arrogance” [through foolish arrogance] (fol. zz3v) have usurped the government of the state are guilty of pride and over-confidence in themselves. He has therefore caused their death:

Fait noyer j’ay pour tout leur payement;
Autres ay fait du hault d’une montaigne
Gecter en bas, à tous vous en souviengne,
Par trop vouloir sur les autres estre maistre.

[I had them drowned for their full payment; I had others thrown from the top of a mountain,—let all of you remember it—for having wished too much to be master of others.] (fol. zz4r)

The woodcut (Figure 9.7) represents both punishments: drowning and being thrown from a tower. The central image, however, depicts Accident spearing the victim desperately clinging to a log across the river. Only Marcus Manlius is granted speech, and after accusing himself of pride, false envy, and ire, he concludes with a premonitory proverb: “Qui plus hault monte qu’il ne doit, c’est folleure” [He who rises higher than he should, that is folly] (fol. zz5r).

The fame of Marcus Manlius in medieval France may be due to Boccaccio who recounts his story in the first chapter of Book IV of the *De casibus virorum illustrium* as an example of the “faithlessness of the common people.”¹⁹ Many manuscripts of Boccaccio’s text include a miniature of Marcus Manlius being thrown from the Tarpeian rock.²⁰ As for printed images, Vérard published two editions of the French translation, *Des cas des nobles malheureux*, but included no illustration for this chapter.²¹ Jean Du Pré,

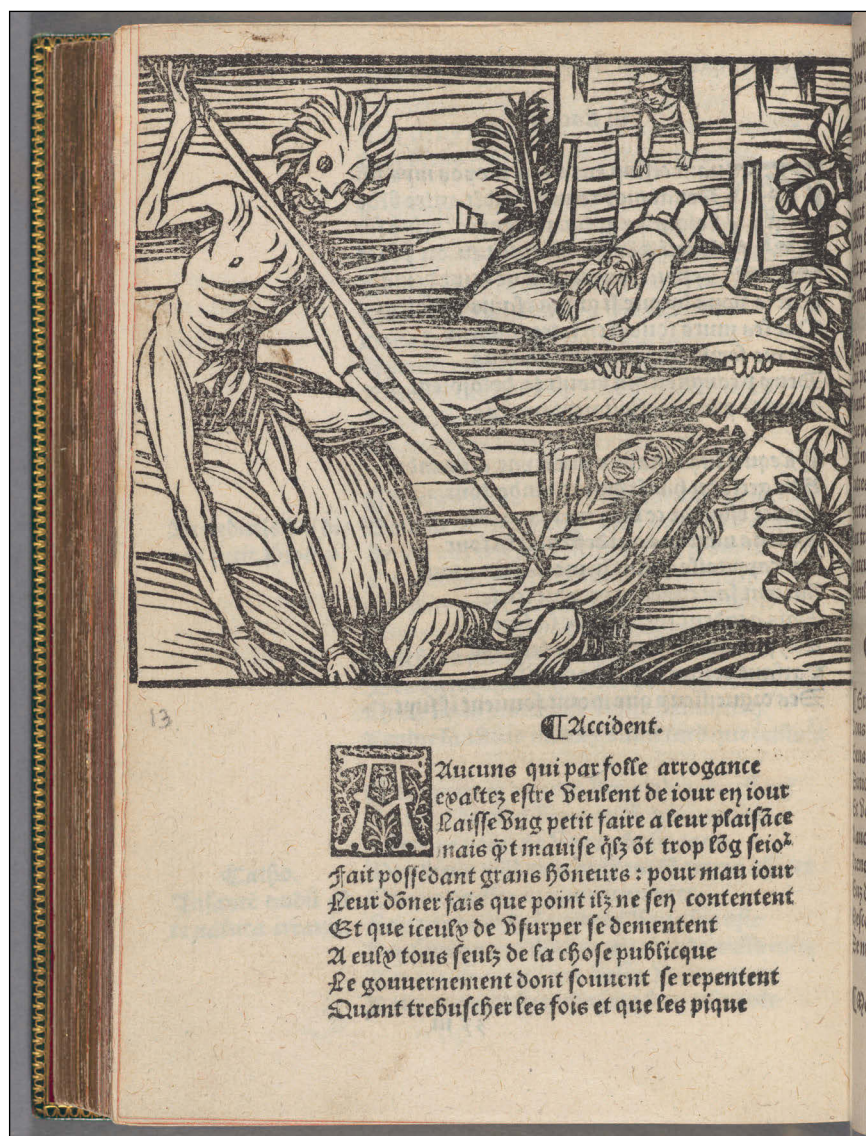
¹⁸ On that episode, see for example *Le Roman d’Alexandre*, as edited in Harf-Lancner 1994, pp. 94–5.

¹⁹ Text cited from Hall 1965, p. 115 and pp. 111–15.

²⁰ Several examples are available online: for Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 235, and Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Ms. 5192, see <http://images.bnf.fr>; for London, BL, Ms. Royal 14. E. V, see <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts>; and for Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 1128, see <http://liberfloridus.cines.fr>.

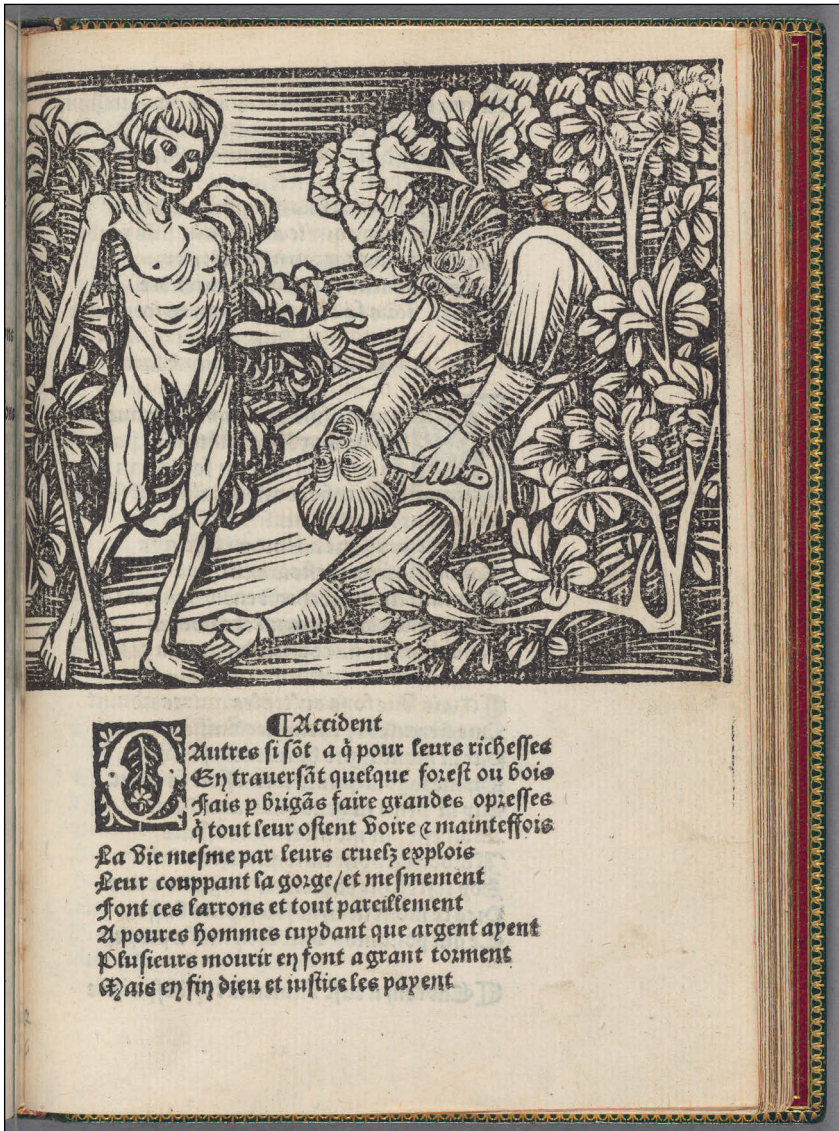
²¹ Vérard’s first edition is dated Nov. 4, 1494 (Macfarlane no. 38); the second is undated but issued ca. 1506 (Macfarlane no. 157).

9.7 Death by drowning or being thrown from a tower. Robert Gobin, *Les Loups ravissans* (Paris: Vérard, ca. 1505), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library Typ 515.05.431, fol. zz3v. Photo Houghton Library, Harvard University.



however, for an edition that preceded Vérard's by a decade, illustrated Book IV with a remarkable woodcut of Marcus Manlius's execution.²² Although the woodcut for Gobin's poem in no way imitates Du Pré's, the image of the fall from a tower, albeit in the background of the scene, illustrates the punishment of Marcus Manlius, the arrogant usurper of government and the only example given voice in Vérard's edition. Visually, as well as textually, the choice of Marcus Manlius reflects the influence of Boccaccio's work.

²² His edition was published on February 26, 1483/84 (GW 4434); the image is reproduced in Claudin 1900, vol. 1, p. 226.



9.8 A robber slits his victim's throat. Robert Gobin, *Les Loups ravissans* (Paris: Vérard, ca. 1505), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library Typ 515.05.431, fol. zz6r. Photo Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Following Manlius, Accident explains that he has used murderers and thieves to kill great lords and bourgeois, but has in turn condemned the thieves. When they are caught, he has them hanged: “Puis comme on doit telz meurtriers et meschans/ De par justice les fais au gibet pendre” [Then as one must to such murderers and evil-doers, according to justice I have them hanged at the gibbet] (fol. zz6v). The woodcut (Figure 9.8) offers a dramatic scene of a robber slitting the throat of his victim in the woods while Accident stands calmly watching at the side. No contemporary example is given, however, and it is instead the mythological Cacus who speaks, relating how he stole cattle from Hercules and died suffocated and burned when Hercules

set fire to his cave.²³ Cacus warns thieves and murderers that they will be drowned or hanged, for they cannot escape Accident.

The reference to hanging gives rise to the names of two notorious figures: the biblical Haman, and the contemporary “valet de chambre” and advisor to Louis XI, Olivier le Daim. They fall within a group of once-powerful officials who had caused the people to suffer:

Les ungs d'iceulx avoient esté regens
Et gouverneurs de puissans roys et princes,
Mais Accident les avoit fais bien minces
En leur ostant tous honneurs et puissances
Qu'avoir souloient sur villes et provinces,
Pour ce qu'au peuple faisoient grevances.

[Some of them had been regents and governors of powerful kings and princes, but Accident had cut them down to size by taking away from them all the honor and power that they used to have over cities and provinces, because they oppressed the people.] (fol. [2et]1v–2r)

Accident had punished them in various ways: “les ungs avoit fait pendre,/ Les autres bannir et autres decoller” [some he had had hanged, others banished, and others beheaded] (fol. [2et]2r), but the two he names were sentenced to hang.

In Gobin's text, only Haman speaks as representative of a royal officer who mistreats the people. He had used his authority from King Assuerus to condemn the Jews, especially Mordecai, but Esther prevailed upon the king to save them, and Haman was hanged as a traitor on the gallows that he had had built.²⁴ He urges all to be fair to others and not to trust in human princes, warning that worldly honors are costly and useless on Judgment Day.

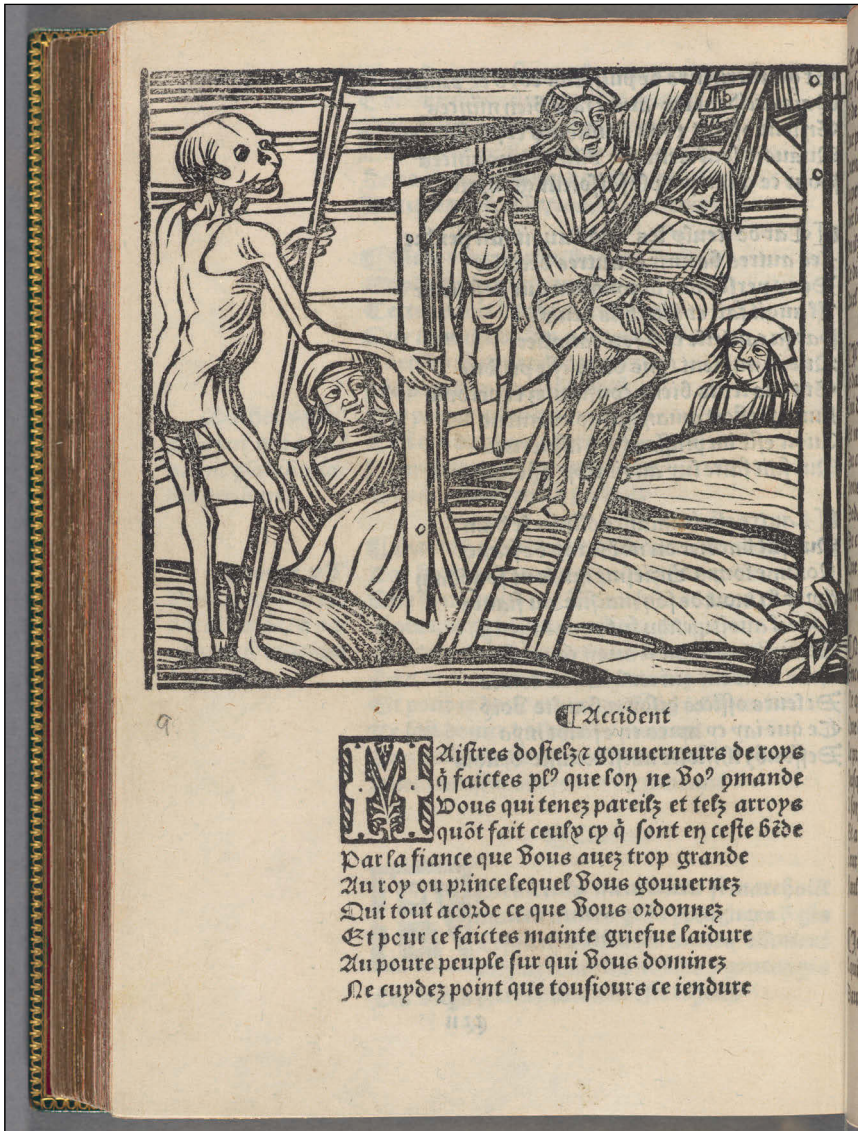
The second example of a royal officer to be condemned is Olivier le Daim, infamous “barber” to the French king Louis XI, who amassed a fortune through bribery and theft.²⁵ Although he does not speak in Gobin's text, the Acteur relates that he was executed immediately after the king's death:

L'autre estoit maistre Olivier le Dain
Qui fut barbier du noble roy de France
Nommé Louys unziesme, qui tout soubdain
Après la mort de son maistre où fiance
Folle il avoit, pendu fut pour l'offense
Et oultrages que il avoit commis.

²³ “Et la fusmes estouffez et brouys;/ Larrecin me fut ce beau guerdon rendans” [And there we were suffocated and burned; Larceny rendered me this handsome reward] (fol. [2et]1r).

²⁴ See Esther 2–7.

²⁵ See Boudet 1986a; Boudet 1986b; and the discussion of this figure in Chapter 6, this volume.



9.9 The gallows. Robert Gobin, *Les Loups ravissans* (Paris: Vérard, ca. 1505), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library Typ 515.05.431, fol. [2et]2v. Photo Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[The other was sir Olivier le Daim who was barber to the noble king of France named Louis XI, who suddenly after the death of his master, whom he foolishly trusted, was hanged for the offenses and outrages he had committed.] (fol. [2et]2r)

The woodcut depicts the gallows with one victim already hanged, another being pulled up the ladder (Figure 9.9).²⁶ Accident specifies that Olivier le Daim was executed at Montfaucon:

²⁶ Langlois 1852, p. 145, identifies them as "deux favoris de prince qui ont abusé de leur pouvoir. L'un des deux, déjà suspendu au gibet, est Aman, le persécuteur des Juifs, et l'autre, que le bourreau va lancer de l'échelle sur laquelle il pose encore, n'est rien moins qu'Olivier le Dain [sic], barbier et favori de Louis XI" [two favorites of the prince who had

Il vous souviengne comme maistre Olivier
 Le Dain je fis estrangler d'ung fort chevestre
 Qui du roy Loys unziesme fut barbier
 Et Montfaucon fis son cymetiere estre.

[Remember how with a strong cord I strangled Olivier le Daim, barber to Louis XI, and made Montfaucon his cemetery.] (fol. [2et]3r)

A different location in Paris served for the decapitation of an unnamed constable:

Du connestable aussi, qui fut grant maistre,
 Vous souviengne, lequel fis decoller
 Dedans Paris en Greve; plus parler
 De ce ne vueil.

[Remember also the constable, who was a great nobleman, whom I had beheaded in Paris, at the Place de Grève; of that I wish to speak no more.] (fol. [2et]3r)

Surely the most memorable of executions in Gobin's lifetime was that of Louis of Luxembourg, count of Saint-Pol, who was in fact beheaded at the Place de Grève on December 19, 1475.²⁷ No visual images of his execution are known from other sources,²⁸ and none is provided here since the example is secondary to that of Olivier le Daim whose execution is clearly represented by the woodcut of the gallows. The text concludes with a reference to ineluctable punishment, as Accident admonishes rulers not to allow their officers to mistreat their subjects: "mais je vous admonnest/ Que se faictes le peuple ainsi fouller,/ La main mettray sur vostre col ou teste" [but I admonish you that if you so trample the people, I will lay my hand upon your neck or head] (fol. [2et]3r). It is Alexander the Great who warns that Accident will punish according to the crime: the thief will be hanged, the heretic burned, the tyrant poisoned or killed by his people:

Selon les maulx qu'on fait et cruaultez,
 Nostre seigneur Dieu Accident envoie
 Par qui moult d'humains sont tormentez,
 Plus l'ung que l'autre et par diverse voye,
 Comme le larron au gibet il envoie
 Et l'hereticque il fait ardre et brusler
 Et vers le prince tyran le peuple rebeller,

abused their power. One of them, already hanging on the gibbet, is Haman, the persecutor of the Jews, and the other, whom the executioner is going to throw from the ladder on which he still stands, is none other than Olivier le Daim, barber and favorite of Louis XI.

²⁷ Philippe de Commines provides the most extensive treatment of the affair in Calmette 1925, vol. 2, p. 91 onwards, but other accounts of the trial and execution are recorded by Jean Molinet in Doutrepont and Jodogne 1935, vol. 1, pp. 130–137, and Jean de Roye, in Mandrot 1894–96, vol. 1, pp. 349–66. For the most recent discussion, see Soumillion 2007.

²⁸ I am grateful to Daniel Soumillion and to Barbara Denis-Morel for confirmation of this point.

Lequel l'occist ou en fin l'empoisonne,
 Et en ce point toutes gens, à brief parler,
 Selon leurs vices Accident guerdonne.

[According to the evils and cruelties that are done, our Lord God sends Accident, by whom many human beings are tormented, one more than another and by diverse means; the thief he sends to the gallows, the heretic he has set on fire and burned, and he makes the people revolt against the tyrant whom they kill or poison, and in this way Accident, in short, rewards all people according to their vices.] (fol. [2et]6r)

TREASURERS WHO EXTORT

A woodcut of Accident seizing a man holding a purse (Figure 9.10) introduces the next group of criminals: treasurers of kings and emperors guilty of extortion, who had robbed the public and acquired wealth “par rapines et cabas” [through pillage and swindling] (fol. A1v). The text concerns Bétisac, treasurer of the duke of Berry, who was accused of extortion and excessive taxation by the people of Languedoc.²⁹ Arrested and imprisoned by King Charles VI in 1389, Bétisac defended himself by declaring he was only acting for the duke, and indeed the king’s counselors did not believe him guilty.³⁰ However, he had become rich and could not repay the sums that he had exacted. Facing execution, he followed the advice of treacherous friends and declared himself a heretic, believing that he would then be released to the custody of the bishop rather than left in the king’s prison. The bishop, however, sent an inquisitor who determined that Bétisac was guilty and delivered him to the executioner. Instead of being hanged, therefore, he was burned alive. Bétisac swore too late that he was not a heretic, for as Gobin has him say: “brulé fus et tout reduyt en cendre” [burned I was and totally reduced to ashes] (fol. A2r).

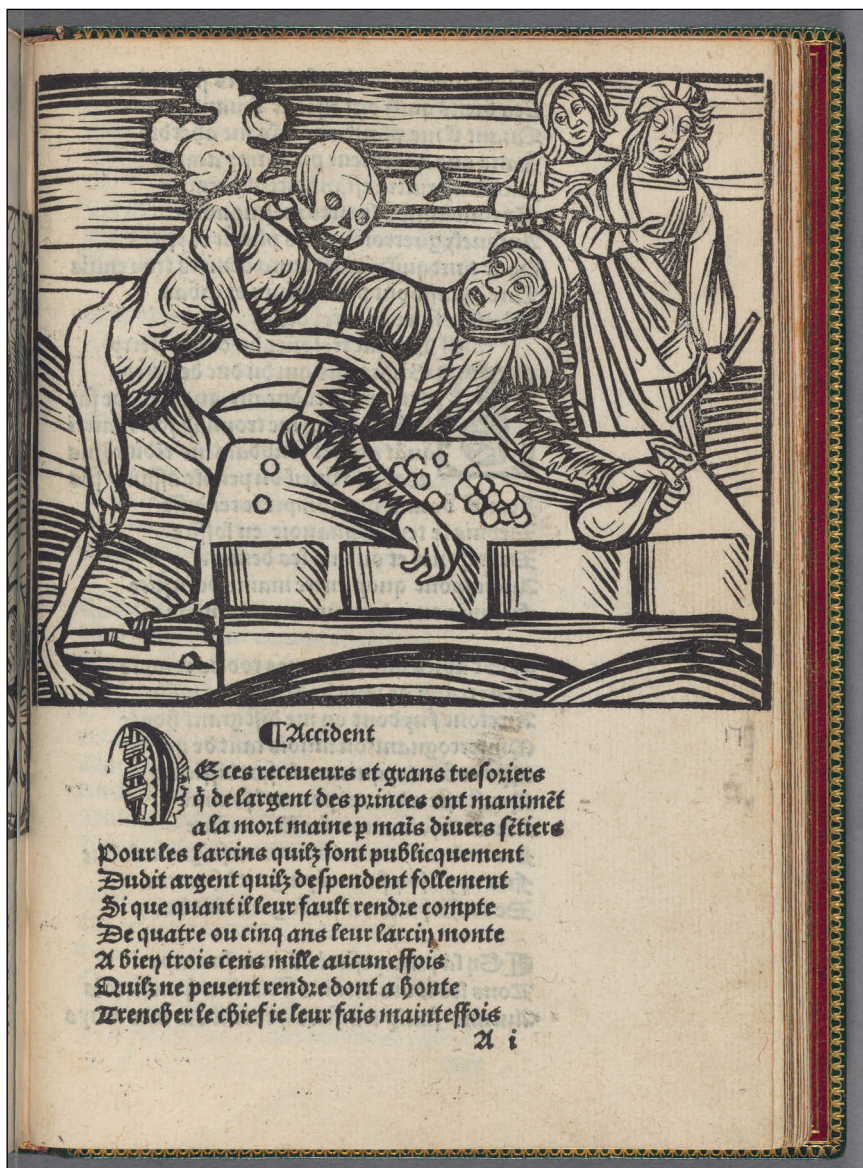
This case must have impressed the public not only because of the implicit rival authority of the king and the duke, but also because it involves both secular and ecclesiastical justice, as well as different forms of capital punishment. In Gobin’s poem, Bétisac relates his own story in nine stanzas (fols. A1v–A2v), and it corresponds in fact to the lengthy account provided by Froissart in book IV of his *Chroniques*.³¹ Two manuscripts of Froissart’s

²⁹ This concern with excessive taxation is reflected earlier in the poem when Gobin records that Saint Louis, captured by the Saracens, refused his marshal’s proposal to tax his people in order to pay his ransom: “Plus cher aymeroit torment/ Souffrir que son peuple tailler” [He would rather suffer torture than tax his people] (fol. tt6r).

³⁰ Françoise Autrand (Autrand 2000, p. 173) considers Bétisac to be the “victime expiatoire” [sacrificial victim] in the king’s efforts to quickly settle the complaints of the people of Languedoc. His crimes were no worse than those of many others: “Ses fautes n’étaient peut-être pas pendables, sûrement pas assez noires pour lui valoir un châtement de l’ordre du sacré. ... Froissart raconte comment lui fut extorquée sa confession” [His crimes did not perhaps deserve hanging, were surely not black enough to warrant punishment as a holy crime. ... Froissart relates how his confession was wrung out of him]. See also Lehoux 1966–68, vol. 2, pp. 255–9.

³¹ See the edition in Ainsworth and Varvaro 2004, pp. 400–410. Another account of Bétisac is provided in the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*: see the edition in Bellaguet 1839–52, vol. 1, pp. 626–31.

9.10 Death
seizes a treasurer.
Robert Gobin,
*Les Loups
ravissans* (Paris:
Vérard, ca. 1505),
Cambridge,
MA, Harvard
University,
Houghton
Library Typ
515.05.431, fol.
A1r. Photo
Houghton
Library, Harvard
University.



Chroniques illustrate the execution of Bétisac, and so does one vellum copy of Vérard's edition of Froissart, which has been largely overlooked.³² Vérard's artist depicts him burning, albeit inside a room (Figure 9.11).³³ The woodcut

³² It is painted in place of the chapter heading in Paris, BnF, Rés. Vélins 745, fol. 142r (ttt6r), vol. 3 of the four-volume set of Froissart's *Chroniques* that Vérard issued ca. 1499, which can be viewed on the BnF's Gallica website.

³³ The manuscript Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2646 likewise shows the burning outdoors (fol. 26v), but the artist of the manuscript London, BL, Royal 18. E. II has succeeded in displaying the double punishment: hanging and burning (fol. 31r). The images are reproduced in Morel 2007, pp. 68–9, as well as at <http://images/bnf/fr> and <http://www>.



9.11 The execution of Bétisac. *Le Tiers volume de Froissart des croniques de france* ... (Paris: Véard, ca. 1499), Paris, BnF, Rés. Vélins 745, fol. 142r=ttt6r. Photo BnF.

for Gobin's text, however, illustrates only the excessive wealth without depicting the specific punishment.

In Gobin's poem, Bétisac advises those who hold his office to remember his example, but he also refers to the year 1505 when "maintz tresoriers ... pour leurs faultes trop grandes" were "desnuez de tous biens et taris/ Par leurs larcins" [many treasurers ... for their great faults were stripped of their possessions and destroyed for their thefts] (fol. A2v). Although no other details are provided, Gobin may be recalling the disgrace of treasurers who had failed to send money to the king's troops in Italy, an episode that Jean d'Auton records as causing the death of Frenchmen and the loss of Naples.³⁴ Although none was executed, the treasurers lost "leurs biens, honneurs et offices" [their possessions, honors, and offices].³⁵

bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts. Froissart records in fact that Charles VI had declared Bétisac "herite et larron" [a heretic and thief], deserving to be both burned and hanged, and he relates in elaborate detail how the victim was held within a chain and collar attached to scaffolding set up in the square, around which a great heap of wood was then placed and set on fire. And Froissart concludes: "Ainsi fu Bethisach pendus et ars" [Thus was Bétisac hanged and burned]: Ainsworth and Varvaro 2004, p. 409.

³⁴ Maulde la Clavière 1893, vol. 3, p. 339 and pp. 335–48.

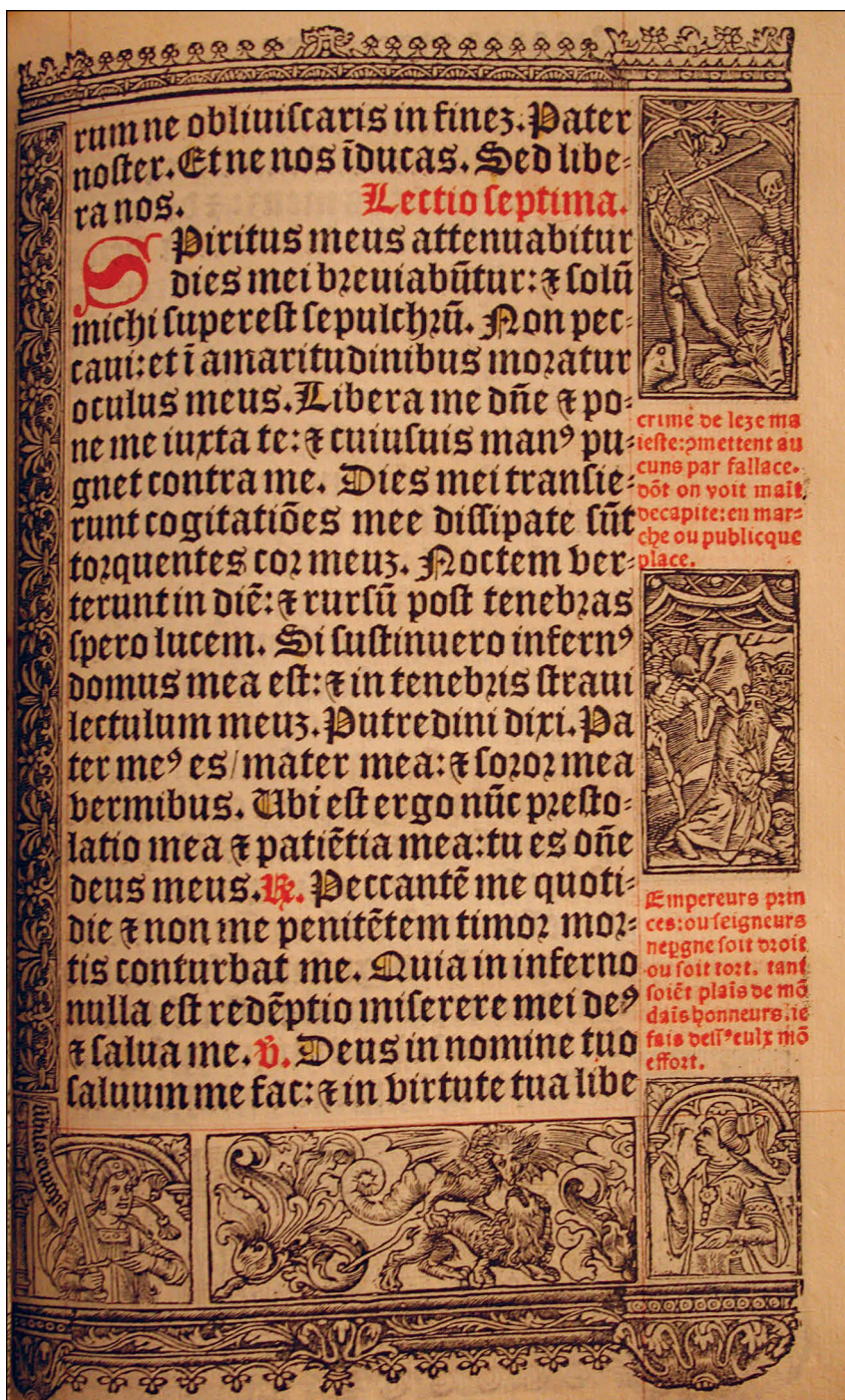
³⁵ Maulde la Clavière 1893, vol. 3, p. 338: the chronicler explains that the king was "tant humain qu'onques homme ne fist mourir a qui il peust pardonner" [so humane that he never put to death anyone he could pardon].

HYPOCRITES WHO DEFRAUD

Gobin next considers various categories of sinners traditionally mentioned in contemporary literary texts: women who deceived men (Dalila); false lovers who seduced women with music and song (Sichem who raped Jacob's daughter, Dinah); hypocritical monks (popes John XII who surrounded himself with loose women, and Boniface VIII who went mad). In the corresponding woodcuts, they too are grasped or speared by the unyielding cadaver.

As the example of judges, sergeants, and officers of the courts who use bribery or trickery to corrupt the legal system, Gobin cites "Tulles" or Cicero who "*par plaidoirie/ faulse*" [through false pleading] defended a man whom he knew to be guilty. The "prince of Latin eloquence" advises all not to act against justice, for Accident will "*pendre et estrangler*" [hang and strangle] (fol. B3v) those who are guilty of fraud. His own death, however, was at the hands of the tribune Popilius who with his sword "*trencha la teste/ Et la main destre*" [cut off his head and his right hand] (fol. B3r). This passage is illustrated (fol. B2r) not by a new woodcut of Cicero's execution, but by the same woodcut (Figure 9.7) used earlier for Marcus Manlius (fol. zz3v), that of being thrown from a tower or drowning. This is the only time any woodcut is repeated, and I suspect that a different illustration, that of a beheading, was intended for use here. Unattested by any edition, its existence can nonetheless be posited not only from iconographical considerations but also from numerical ones: the 24 spaces allocated for the illustrations would be filled by an equal number of woodcuts rather than by the 23 now present, plus one repeat. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, a rival Parisian publisher, Simon Vostre, employed in the borders of his Books of Hours a set of woodcuts that includes a decapitation (Figure 9.12). Since the entire set is derived from the images illustrating Gobin's Accidents, it seems plausible that Vérard's set originally included such a woodcut, which was lost or damaged before the edition was printed.

As the text draws to its end, Accident says that God has given him power to torment victims as the ordained precursor of Death, but that he strikes them more or less harshly according to how they have treated others. He singles out those who have acquired wealth illicitly: "*De biens qui sont mallement acquestez/ En fin n'en vient que tristesse et courroux*" [From goods that have been acquired dishonestly come, finally, only sorrow and grief] (fol. C3v); and he admonishes them to return the goods while they yet have time to do so. In a final "*Requete des mors aux vivans*" [Request from the dead to the living] (fol. C4r), the living are asked to pray God to be merciful to the dead and to exempt their souls from pain; in return, the dead will pray that God preserve the living from the fires of Hell. Death concludes with a warning to be mindful of God's Judgment, which imposes pain especially on certain categories of sinners:



9.12 Border image of decapitation (top right) in Hours for the use of Rome (Paris: Vostre, ca. 1515), Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, OE XV 283 (3) RES, fol. 12r. Photo Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève.

Tourmens y a pour roys et chevaliers
 Pour faulx moynes, pour faulx religieux,
 Pour faulx prestres et pour faulx seculiers,
 Pour tous pecheurs, pour fiers et orgueilleux.

[Torments there are for kings and knights, for false monks, false religious, false priests, and false laymen, for all sinners, for the proud and arrogant.] (fol. C6r)

Death will lead all of them into the dance, but each will suffer according to his sins, and the final woodcut depicts the Last Judgment.

Conclusion

Several conclusions might be drawn about the text, illustrations, and printing of the *Loups ravissans*. Robert Gobin defines his work as a “doctrinal moral” [moral treatise] from which readers can learn to lead virtuous lives while avoiding “vice et mal” [vice and evil]. He not only cautions them about the Last Judgment that awaits them in the next world, but exposes the justice that operates in this one, using specific examples from contemporary France that mirror those from past history. The various punishments for certain crimes—hanging, burning, decapitation, defenestration—may be “accidents,” but they are controlled first by secular and ultimately by divine justice. As a cleric and ecclesiastical lawyer, Gobin seems most concerned with the “wolves” who have harmed the people, whether by usurping power (Marcus Manlius) or by impoverishing them through extortion (Bétisac). Each of these wolves will be required to pay retribution before being executed according to custom. In a major revision of the *danse macabre*, Death is not an equalizer who strikes at random representative types of the social hierarchy, but an administrator of justice who punishes named individuals for committing crimes against the social order.

Gobin’s text, long and full of digressions, must nonetheless have impressed the enterprising publisher Anthoine Vérard as a viable publication, since he not only issued the first edition but arranged for two new sets of woodcuts to be made for it. For the animals, he relied in part on his prior edition of the *Regnars traversant*, but for the human beings felled by “Accident” he commissioned new, dramatic scenes of named individuals seized by a cadaver—23 bold woodcuts that compelled readers to contemplate the “wolves,” historical and contemporary, whose punishment affirmed that justice would be done in this world and the next.

Two publishers, Michel Le Noir and his son Philippe Le Noir, issued the two subsequent editions of Gobin’s complete work, but they did not illustrate the final section of the Accidents. Perhaps they found the number and size of the woodblocks too daunting to reproduce in full scale; perhaps Vérard or his artist guarded the blocks with particular care. At least three other printers, however, copied the images of Vérard’s set, as a new form of *danse*

macabre for their Books of Hours. Removed from the context of the *Loups ravissans*, however, the woodcuts of Death and Accident as punishment for the “wolves” of society were transposed into visual reminders of the fate of all sinners as they recited the liturgical Office of the Dead. The “Accidents de l’homme” assumed an independence probably not anticipated by either Vérard or Gobin, but which the power of the images ensured to this day.

In a concluding apology composed on the acrostic of his name and printed at the end of his work, Gobin offers some final words of advice to his readers:

Prenez en gré, lisans jeunes et vieulx;
A bien faire mettez tous vostre cure;
Fuyez larcin, homicide et usure
Et le vray Dieu soiez reconnoissans.

[Take heed willingly, readers young and old; put all your effort into doing good; flee larceny, homicide, and usury, and faithfully remember the true God.] (fol. D2r)

If his admonition to do good (“bien faire”) seems generic, the mention of three specific crimes underscores Gobin’s particular focus: ill-gotten wealth that victimizes those with little power. The royal and ecclesiastical officers who prey on the people are no better than common thieves who rob and kill for money. They are all “loups ravissans.” In Gobin’s text, they relate their crimes to sins that they urge their listeners to avoid, but they voice no repentance and no hope for forgiveness. Divine justice corroborates human justice, and the Last Judgment will concur with secular verdicts. After the lengthy exposition of the crimes and punishments of the wolves, Gobin offers perhaps the best conclusion in a pithy rhyme that sums up one’s options for justice: “Rendre ou pendre ou en enfer descendre” [Pay back or hang or descend into hell] (fol. zz2v).

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The Queen on Trial: Spectacle of Innocence, Performance of Beauty

Yasmina Foehr-Janssens

Résumé français: *Une scène récurrente hante la littérature romanesque médiévale depuis les premières versions du Roman de Tristan jusqu'au Lancelot en prose ou à La Mort le roi Artu: celle de la mise en accusation publique de la reine, coupable d'adultère. Sur le plan de l'agencement narratif, l'épisode du procès de la reine constitue un moment de haute tension dramatique qui met à contribution tous les ressorts du pathos et aboutit à la transformation, sous les yeux du public, de l'accusée en victime. Cette dialectique repose sur l'exposition clairement érotisée du corps de la reine, la beauté d'Iseut ou de Guenièvre tenant lieu de plaidoirie muette à leur procès. Mais un autre scénario existe, qui place la figure de la reine en position d'accusatrice, comme dans le Lai de Guigemar de Marie de France ou dans Graelent. Ici, la parole féminine démontre toute sa puissance, quoique mise au service d'une cause injuste. Dans les fictions médiévales, le rapport des personnages féminins à la justice passe donc par une remise en question des procédures du droit. Sur le plan discursif comme au niveau des représentations visuelles, le corps et la parole de la reine sont pensés comme des éléments étrangers à la scène juridique, qu'ils contribuent à perturber.*

My study will take the following simple observation as its point of departure: a fundamental asymmetry exists between how men and women relate to justice. Contemporary theorists of justice still stress this disparity, created by the inequality of men and women's positions in relation to the law, and in particular to the laws of the family and of marriage.¹ Feudal society does not, of course, stand out for its egalitarian treatment of women, especially wives. In what follows, I will analyse how judicial procedures are represented when wives breach conjugal fidelity in twelfth- and thirteenth-century French romance. If references to juridical procedure are not uncommon in literary texts, cases which involve women are relatively rare, even if these few

¹ Okin 1989.



10.1 Marc reprimanding Iseut. *Tristan de Léonois*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 97, fol. 60v. Photo BnF.

examples are, as a result, well known. They involve, almost exclusively, matrimonial law, and more specifically the question of adultery.

The notoriously complex offense of adultery does not belong strictly to the private sphere, especially when the accused is a queen, as is often the case in medieval romances. In the twentieth century, during the 1960s and 1970s, feminists fought for the private sphere to be recognized as politically relevant. They wanted to bring the law and a baseline of justice and equality into familial and matrimonial affairs. Since then, medieval representations of royal marriage have been used to demonstrate the historically constructed nature of the dichotomy between the private and the public spheres. Thus, in the case of pictorial representations of Queen Iseut, it is hard to know if, in the prose *Tristan*, King Marc's accusations after catching the lovers in the act have a political dimension or if they represent just another scene from married life. As the verse versions of the *Tristan* by Béroul and Thomas survive in the form of fragments without any illumination, the richly illustrated fifteenth-century manuscripts of

the prose *Tristan* are the main iconographic sources for this study. The reader must remember the time gap between the composition of the verses and prose romances I am dealing with (mid-twelfth- and thirteenth-century) and the making of these illustrated manuscripts from the end of the Middle Ages. The dialogue between text and image thus takes place at a distance. These paintings nevertheless provide a precious glimpse of the way in which the fictional world of the narrative was perceived over time. The illuminator of the second version of the prose *Tristan* copied in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 97 (Figure 10.1), seems to have opted for a public interpretation of this scene since he places behind the king's throne a figure who witnesses these reprimands. In so doing, he subscribes to a recurring typology apparent in the images of this manuscript whereby representations of courtiers standing around the seated king allow the artist to display Marc's royal function (Figure 10.2).

However, if the queen's adultery is a public affair, this hardly makes her an autonomous actor in the political arena. What exactly is, then, the status of women who engage in juridical debates on the topic of marital fidelity? What role do women play, or can they play, in judicial procedures which seek primarily to display the political and juridical power of the king? Both texts and images that represent trial scenes clearly indicate masculine predominance

in the realm of judicial power. Women appear in courts of justice only on exceptional occasions. For example, in the third chapter of Book VIII of Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, which deals with the topic of "Quae mulieres apud magistratus pro se aut pro aliis causas egerunt" [women who pleaded before magistrates for themselves or for others], the author declares:

Ne de iis quidem feminis tacendum est quas condicio naturae, et verecundia stolae, ut in foro et iudiciis tacerent, cohibere non valuit.

[Nor should I be silent about those women whose natural condition and the modesty of the matron's robe could not make them keep silent in the forum and the courts of law.]²

Women's presence in the courtroom is seen as contrary to their very nature, or to the "conditions de nature feminine," in the words of the text's early fifteenth-century translators.³ The sentence is used as a rubric for a picture illustrating this uncommon situation in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 289, fol. 374r (Figure 10.3). The rest of the chapter explains that the presence of women, and their desire to defend their rights, is in and of itself an anomaly. According to a well-known schema, representations of female litigants vacillate between virile women ("Quam, quia sub specie feminae virilem animum gerebat, androgynem appellabant" [Because she bore a man's spirit under the form of a woman, they called her Androgyné])⁴ and annoying, impudent shrews ("Inusitatis foro latratibus adsidue tribunalia exercendo muliebris calumniante notissimum evasit" [By constantly plaguing



10.2 Mark holding court. *Tristan de Léonois*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 97, fol. 202v. Photo BnF.

² Cited from the edition in Shackleton Bailey 2000, vol. 2, pp. 210–211. Valerius Maximus's book of historical anecdotes with a strong moralistic tone was an important source of knowledge about antiquity throughout the Middle Ages. On the general exclusion of women from courtrooms, see Morel 2007, p. 330, n. 481. See Jacob 1994 for a study which refers to only one image of a woman in a courtroom (pl. XVIII, which depicts the oath sworn by the ladies of Bubenbergh from the *Chronicle of Berne* by Diebold Schilling, as preserved in Berne, Burgerbibliothek, p. 100, which dates from the end of the fifteenth century). See also Caviness and Nelson 2003: based on their close examination of the iconographic program in the Dresden manuscript of the famous *Sachsenspiegel*, the authors define the conditions under which women may appear as witnesses or plaintiffs. My thanks go to Rosalind Brown-Grant for this reference.

³ Between 1375 and 1380, Simon de Hesdin provided a Middle French translation of Valerius' treatise for Charles V, king of France. It was completed by Nicolas de Gonesse in 1400–01 (the text, as preserved in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 282, can be viewed on the BnF's Gallica website). For bk. VIII, chap. 3, see fols. 315r–16r.

⁴ Shackleton Bailey 2000, vol. 2, p. 210.



10.3 Women pleading their cause. Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, trans. Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 289, fol. 374r. Photo BnF.

the tribunals with barkings to which the Forum was unaccustomed, she became a notorious example of female litigiousness)).⁵

As for the adulterous queen in twelfth- and thirteenth-century romance fiction, the juxtaposition of two types of judicial scenarios representing the queen on trial reveals meaningful tensions. One scene, in which the queen, Iseut or Guinevere, is publicly accused of adultery, haunts medieval romance, from the first versions of the *Tristan* to the *Mort le roi Artu*. Often a high point in the plot, the scene uses all the resources of pathos, relying on the display of the queen's clearly eroticized body. My hypothesis is that the beauty of Iseut or Guinevere stands in for the queen's voice during the trial, as a kind of silent plea. Another frequent scene, however, places the queen in the position of the accuser. Such scenes appear in the *Lai de Lanval* by Marie de France and in the anonymous *Graelent*, as well as in the *Roman des Sept Sages* and in the episode of the false Guinevere in the prose *Lancelot*. In these episodes, the female voice only becomes powerful when it expresses slander and calumny. In what follows, I would like to explore what the comparison of these two representations of the queen on trial can teach us about how medieval romance formulates the exercise of justice in terms of gender.

The Accused Queen: Beauty as Pathos

Trials of adultery in twelfth- and thirteenth-century romance all have one thing in common: instead of highlighting who is in the right and who is in the wrong, they more often simply establish the impossibility of the lovers' incrimination. They do this so well that trial proceedings primarily display the lovers' ambiguous triumph. Whether this concerns Iseut being brought to the stake to be burned, and later having to make an exculpatory oath in public, as in Béroul's *Tristan*, or Guinevere being publicly accused in the *Mort le roi Artu*, the queen's indictment most often results in a failure of the legal system which leads to her liberation and exoneration.

In an important article on the meaning of the trial in the *Mort le roi Artu*, Marie-Louise Ollier has given the definitive explanation of the success of this model.⁶ She argues that the trial is not intended to confirm the reality of a fact nor to display the truth. Moreover, the trial is always deceptive and it leads the reader to seek a hidden meaning, which may only be expressed through paradox. In this way, the trial becomes a figure for literature. In the introduction to a book on the fault in medieval epic, Bernard Ribémont underlines the ambiguous space in which errors such as betrayal exist within medieval epic.⁷ Although epic Manichaeism remains operational in the *chansons de geste*, a more nuanced picture often appears, in connection with the law's incertitude

⁵ Shackleton Bailey 2000, vol. 2, pp. 210–211.

⁶ Ollier 1994, p. 179.

⁷ Ribémont 2012, p. 30.

and with the idea of the weakness of mankind, subjected as he is to the human condition and to the vagaries of fortune and of his passions.

In courtly texts, a similar ambiguity surrounds interpretation of the queen's betrayal. Ought one to conclude that adultery plays the same role in romance as betrayal plays in the epic? This question, in any case, leads the way to an aestheticization of the judicial;⁸ in other words, representations of the law are made subject to the specific needs of medieval narrative. For the most part, it is characters clearly defined by their hatred for the main hero, Tristan or Lancelot, who bring the lovers to suit, thus problematizing the judicial process from the very beginning. The trials are primarily seen as a political maneuver by adversaries solely motivated by enmity, such as the evil barons in Bérout's *Tristan*:

A la cort avoit trois barons
Ainz ne veïstes plus felons.
Par soirement s'estoient pris
Que, se li rois de son país
N'en faisoit son nevo partir,
Il nu voudroient mais souffrir,
A lor chateaus sus s'en traioient
Et au roi Marc gerre feroient.⁹

[There were at the court three barons, and never have you seen such evil men! They had taken an oath that, if the king did not banish his nephew from his land, they would tolerate it no longer; rather, withdraw to their castles and wage war against King Mark.]¹⁰

In the *Mort le roi Artu*, Morgan is the one who engineers Arthur's discovery of Lancelot and Guinevere's betrayal.¹¹ The jealous sister's hateful motivations are clearly announced in a sentence that explains how love engenders hate: "ele haoit Lancelot plus que nul home por ce qu'ele savoit que la roïne l'amoit" [She hated Lancelot more than anyone in the world, because she knew that the queen loved him].¹² She dictates to Arthur how to react and reminds him of the patriarchal rule of vengeance which he must follow, both as a man and as a king. Arthur says:

"Et se il est ainsi comme ces ymages ici le tesmoignent, que Lancelos m'ait fet tel honte comme de moi honnir de ma fame, je me traveilleraï tant que il seront ensemble pris prové. Et lors se ge n'en faz tel joustise qu'il en sera parlé a touz jorz mes, ge otroi que ge ne port jamés coronne."

"Certes, fet Morgue, se vos nel fesiez, bien vos devroit Dex et touz li monz honnir, car il n'est pas rois ne hom qui tel honte suefre que l'en li face."¹³

⁸ Ribémont 2012, p. 30.

⁹ Text cited from Lacroix and Walter 1989, vv. 581–8.

¹⁰ Translation cited from Lacy 1989, p. 29.

¹¹ While at Morgan's castle, King Arthur discovers Lancelot's paintings, painted during his extended time in prison (see the edition in Frappier 1954, §51–3; and the translation in Lacy 1993–96, vol. 4, pp. 106b–107a).

¹² Frappier 1954, §54, ll. 2–4; Lacy 1993–96, vol. 4, p. 107b.

¹³ Frappier 1954, §53, ll. 59–65.

["And if it's true, as these images [disclosing Lancelot and Guinevere's adulterous relationship] indicate, that Lancelot has shamed me by dishonoring me with my wife, I'll pursue this until they are caught together in the act. And then, if I fail to impose a punishment that will be remembered forever, I agree never to wear a crown again."

"Certainly," said Morgan, "if you don't do so, you'll be disgraced before God and everyone, for no king or any other man tolerates being shamed that way."]¹⁴

The procedures of ancient customary law are often attributed to such malevolent complainants and this gives the court scenes, and the condemnations that follow them, a menacing air.

Studies focused on the question of how different kinds of legal proceedings are represented in medieval literature have justly noted that trials bring to the fore practices tied to customary law: the absence of an inquisitorial procedure,¹⁵ the need for the guilty party to be caught in the act in order to proceed with an accusation, and the lack of interest in establishing the intention of the defendant when judging the act. Yet one wonders whether, since Béroul's *Tristan*, the queen's trial in literature does not have the express aim of dramatizing the apparently archaic nature of such legal proceedings, precisely in order to stigmatize the accusers' point of view. Representations of Marc menacing or spying on the lovers in the miniatures in the illuminated manuscripts of the prose *Tristan* confirm how the accusers themselves become the accused within the narrative. The repeated presence of an unsheathed sword denounces an act motivated by a personal desire for vengeance rather than justice: the judge becomes the executioner (Figures 10.4 and 10.5). Elsewhere, King Marc takes on the lowly characteristics of the voyeur or the jealous man, obsessed with observing the tender meeting of the lovers.

This process appears most forcefully in the *Mort le roi Artu*. At the beginning of the romance, just as the king has discovered the infidelity of his wife, the queen is accused not of adultery but of murder. She has offered a poisoned apple, given to her by an enemy of Gawain and intended for him, to a knight named Gaheriz de Karaheu, who dies as a result. This truly unjust charge brought against the queen allows Guinevere to be easily cleared. The dialogue between the queen and Mador de la Porte, Gaheriz's brother, who has come before the king in order to lodge a complaint regarding his brother's death, introduces the question of intentionality:

"Comment," fet ele, "dites vos donc que ge vostre frere ocis en traïson et a mon escient?" "Je di," fet il, "que vos le feïstes morir desloiaument et en traïson."¹⁶

["What?" she said. "Are you saying that I killed your brother treacherously and intentionally?" He replied, "I'm saying that you caused his death treacherously and deceitfully."]¹⁷

¹⁴ Lacy 1993–96, vol. 4, p. 107b.

¹⁵ On these notions, see Riedel 1938; Bloch 1977; and Ribémont 2011.

¹⁶ Frappier 1954, §67, ll. 94–7.

¹⁷ Lacy 1993–96, vol. 4, p. 113a.

chambre de la royne et comment
 .T. se parti de court par mal.



Et dist li comtes
 que un iour adunt
 que tristan et la
 royne ysent esto-
 ent en lachambre
 au roy marc seul a seul. Andriet



10.5 Mark catching Tristan and Iseult in the act. *Tristan de Léonois*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 102, fol. 64v. Photo BnF.

Here, although the accuser insists on qualifying the lady's act as a disloyal betrayal, according to how the knight was killed (the poison was hidden in the fruit), he seems to be deaf as to whether or not the act was knowingly committed by the queen.¹⁸

In light of Marie-Louise Ollier's analysis, it is interesting to note that, from the narrators' point of view, the adulterous lovers' acts seem heroic from a theological perspective, if not from a judicial one. The validity of Tristan and Iseut's remorse is guaranteed by their alliance with the hermit Ogrin. In the *Mort le roi Artu*, the poisoned apple episode encourages the reader to draw a parallel between Guinevere's betrayal and Eve's original sin, suggesting that the lovers will be judged according to the law of God rather than that of man. The reader is asked to take a step back in order to gain some distance on the self-interested hard-heartedness of the accusers. He or she should follow the example of God in Psalms 7:10, who "searches hearts and minds," and knows how, through mercy, to absolve or even justify the acts of sinners. In setting customary and divine law against each other, the romances display their commitment to establishing the truth value of the tale in terms of adherence to the spirit of the law if not its literal letter.

The queen's trial scene is thus typically an event that is played out in two acts. The exercise of justice becomes problematic when tempers flare and certain characters are blinded by passion: Arthur¹⁹ and Marc²⁰ by their anger; Agravain, Morgan, and the evil barons by their bitterness and hatred. The trial reveals its own partiality; because the lovers are caught in the act, any deliberation becomes useless, and the moment of accusation, in most cases, coincides with the declaration of the sentence. In Bérout's *Tristan*, the eponymous hero, caught in the act, demands an *escondit* (an act to exculpate himself) and immediately after, the rumour spreads that the lovers have been condemned.²¹ In the *Mort le roi Artu*, having learned that Guinevere and Lancelot were seen together, the king declares: "si ferai justise de lui et de la reine ensamble" [I'll have him and the queen tried together].²² But this expression, "faire justice" must be understood as meaning "to execute the sentence" rather than "to do justice."²³ In the manuscript Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 97 (Figure 10.6), a miniature which shows the moment they are caught in the act depicts Tristan and Iseut lying down, apparently asleep, surrounded by

¹⁸ Within the text, this judicial question both valorizes Lancelot's courage and his self-abnegation, since he agrees to fight in Guinevere's defense even if "li torz en sera miens et li droiz Mador" [I'll be on the side of wrong and Mador on the side of right] (Frappier 1954, §75, ll. 41–2; see also §77, l. 34; Lacy 1993–96, vol. 4, p. 116a). This gives a happy ending to the episode since Lancelot insists that he is fighting to defend the fact that the queen "n'i pensa onques desloiauté ne traïson" [had no thought of dishonour or treachery] (Frappier 1954, §83, ll. 5; Lacy 1993–96, vol. 4, p. 118a).

¹⁹ Frappier 1954, §87, ll. 1–2; Lacy 1993–96, vol. 4, p. 119b.

²⁰ Lacroix and Walter 1989, vv. 1065–70; Lacy 1989, pp. 51–3. See also Lacroix and Walter 1989, v. 862; Lacy 1989, p. 43.

²¹ Lacroix and Walter 1989, vv. 799–818, and 827–30.

²² Frappier 1954, §92, ll. 22–3; Lacy 1993–96, vol. 4, p. 122a.

²³ See also Frappier 1954, §92, ll. 40–46; Lacy 1993–96, vol. 4, p. 122b.



10.6 Tristan and Iseult caught in the act. *Tristan de Léonois*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 97, fol. 60v. Photo BnF.

four armed men who seem to be about to lift up the covers. The discovery of the adulterous lovers thus coincides immediately with their physical arrest.

In this way, the actual telling of the trial can be understood as a new kind of appeal, one made to the reader so that he or she may give a more equitable judgment, one which is more respectful of the truth of the heart. The representation of a vindictive and expeditious system of justice is a rhetorical ploy that seems to be put in place by a narrator who serves as lawyer for the accused. This negative representation of the judicial process calls for a mercifulness which the judge, too implicated in the case, is unable to show but which the reader, acting in the place of the divine, can embody:

Oez, seignors, de Damledé,
 Conment il est plains de pité;
 Ne vieat pas mort de pecheor.
 Receü out le cri, le plor
 Que faisoient la povre gent
 Por ceus qui eirent a torment.²⁴

[Lords, now hear about God, and how great is His mercy; He does not want a sinner to die. He heard the poor citizens' cries and pleas for those who were in distress.]²⁵

The queen's trials thus provide a narrativized plea addressed to the reader who is invited to adopt the role of judge. Bérout's famous leniency towards the lovers takes on new meaning if one considers it in light of this extended judicial metaphor. He strategically uses the crowd watching the execution to express his appeal for pity, a primary rhetorical tool for any self-respecting request strategy. These crying and indignant witnesses are the text's fictional substitutes for the narratee. The main force of this plea for pity is the queen's beauty: arrayed in all her splendor, she appears more like a propitiatory victim than a guilty wife:

En un bliaut de paile bis
 Estoit la dame, estroit vestue
 E d'un fil d'or menu cosue.
 Si chevel hurtent a ses piez,
 D'un filet d'or les ot trechiez.
 Qui voit son cors et sa fathon,
 Trop par avroit le cuer felon
 Qui n'en avroit de lié pitié.
 Molt sont li braz estroit lié.²⁶

[The lady was dressed in a fitted tunic of dark silk, finely stitched with gold thread. Her hair reached to her feet and was held by a gold net. Anyone who saw her face and figure would have to have a very cruel heart not to feel pity for her. Her arms were tied very tightly.]²⁷

²⁴ Lacroix and Walter 1989, vv. 909–14. On the way in which Bérout's text positions itself in regards to salvation, repentance, and "bel mentir" [beautiful lying], see Bromiley 1993, pp. 31–9.

²⁵ Lacy 1989, p. 45.

²⁶ Lacroix and Walter 1989, vv. 1146–54.

²⁷ Lacy 1989, pp. 55–7.

A similar strategy is found in the *Mort le roi Artu*:

La reïne ... vint moult plorant, et ot vestue une robe de cendal vermeill, cote et mantel. Si estoit si bele dame et si avenanz qu'en tout le monde ne trovast l'en si bele ne si avenant de son aage. Quant li rois la vit, si en ot si grant pitié qu'il ne la pot regarder.²⁸

[She came there weeping bitterly. She was wearing a robe of red silk, a tunic, and a mantle, and she was more beautiful and attractive than any woman of her age in the world. When the king saw her, he felt so much pity that he was unable to look at her.]²⁹

This transformation of the accused into a victim, thanks to the rhetorical talent of the narrator-cum-defense lawyer, necessarily implies that the queen must remain silent. Only her tears and her beauty speak here, as well as the signs of her majesty: her tunic of dark silk, the gold thread braided into her hair, her robe of red silk, and her mantle. The meaning of this spectacle is clear: the audience's pity is called upon as well as that of the king. The scene is silent and must remain so; the sacrificial lamb will seem all the more innocent if it proves to be docile. The queen's point of view, which is expressed elsewhere, at least in Béroul, is completely absent here.³⁰ This condemnation scene, which appeals to the audience's empathy, says nothing of the arguments that the queen could have put forward in her own defense. The *Lancelot Graal* cycle, even more than Béroul, fails to voice the queen's particular point of view. Her main justification rests upon her scrupulous respect of the rules of courtly sociability and royal behavior.³¹ As she embodies her husband's majesty, she has to be always merciful, munificent, and moderate in her language and actions.

With this dramatization of the queen's beauty, the narrative strategy inspired by oratory which can only express female innocence through the eroticized body of the female victim reaches a peak. The queen can utter no words; speech may only be attributed to witnesses of the scene. Three manuscripts of the *Mort le roi Artu*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 112(3), Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 116, and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 120, contain a series of representations of Queen Guinevere's death sentence. These richly illustrated codices dating from the fifteenth century³² give special importance to the moment when Lancelot saves the queen who has been condemned to burn at the stake. Several images, designed to contrast the queen's victimization with the heroic deeds of the

²⁸ Frappier 1954, §93, ll. 39–45.

²⁹ Lacy 1993–96, vol. 4, p. 122b.

³⁰ As Ollier 1990 has suggested, Béroul gives access to Iseut's experience which allows for a different reading of the story.

³¹ Note here that in the *Mort le roi Artu*, Lancelot is the lady's champion twice, while in Béroul, Iseut takes on her own defense during her *escondit*.

³² Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 112(3) is dated 1470, as is Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 116, whose illuminations have been attributed to the workshop of Evrard d'Espinques. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 120 seems older, going back to the beginning of the fifteenth century and its miniatures have been attributed to the workshop of the Master of the *Cleres Femmes*: these can be viewed on the BnF's Mandragore website. On the other hand, the description given in the BnF's Banque d'images website is more cautious about the dating of this image: "1404? 1460?"

10.7 Lancelot rescuing Guinevere. *La Mort le roi Artu*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 112(3), fol. 204v. Photo BnF.



hero, insist in particular upon the battle of Lancelot and his friends to save the queen. Guinevere's situation is desperate: two armed officers who are leading her to the stake surround her on each side. The violence brought against her justifies the actions of her lover, whose bravery in battle is clearly valorized: the battle takes up almost all of the available pictorial space. The illustration in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 112(3) (Figure 10.7) places the figure of the condemned queen in the background, while the victorious attack of Lancelot, who is heroically brandishing his sword, takes up the entire foreground. Guinevere, with her escort, is pictured facing the fire, her hands joined in front of her, perhaps tied together. The relative sizes of the different figures are dependent on where they appear in the image. The representation of the humiliated

queen blends into the background, becoming just another part of the backdrop to the battle. The same proportions are also apparent in the miniatures of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 116 (Figure 10.8), and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 120 (Figure 10.9) even though here the queen appears in the foreground.³³ Kneeling as if she were praying by the pyre, the queen is no longer held by her guard, who is gesturing towards the crowd, apparently offering the victim up for their viewing pleasure. Luxuriously clothed in blue, she seems to be patiently awaiting her punishment, like a saint awaiting martyrdom, while Lancelot's battle rages behind her. The relatively low position of the queen in the painting, as well as her slight stature, contrasts with the height of the bodies of the knights on their superb horses, such that the image can be read on two levels: in front and towards the bottom one reads the justice scene, while above, and just behind, one sees the battle scene, which is magnified by its position and by its larger scale. The first is clearly meant to be the pretext for the second. These pictures emphasize the sacrificial tone of the scene as it is recounted in the narrative.

In this way, in the text of the *Mort le roi Artu* and even more in its later illustrations, an appeal to a merciful form of justice does not prevail: the audience, touched by the lady's self-presentation as a sacrificial lamb, is not asked to fathom the depths of the adulterous woman's heart, but only to revel in her beauty.

³³ A similar image can be found in London, BL, Ms. Royal 14. E. III, fol. 158v (dating from 1315–25) which represents Lancelot defending the queen. Guinevere appears alone, standing to the left. Crowned and wearing a wimple, she has on a red dress which blends into the ochre background. Her hands are joined and she seems to be contemplating the battle scene, from which she is separated by a red column. Here too the queen is lower down in the picture than the knights on horseback, though the figures seem to be drawn to scale. These images can be viewed on the BL's website, at <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts>.



10.8 Lancelot rescuing Guinevere. *La Mort le roi Artu*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 116, fol. 701r. Photo BnF.



10.9 Lancelot rescuing Guinevere. *La Mort le roi Artu*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 120, fol. 581v. Photo BnF.

The Accusatory Queen: Beauty as Proof

Compared to the sacrificial and silent beauty of the accused queen in these exoneration scenarios, the position of the queen is quite different in stories which follow the biblical storyline of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. The queen is now the accuser and she stands out for her ability to speak. Strange as this might seem, in the two octosyllabic *lais* which follow such a storyline, the anonymous *Graelent* (dating approximately from the end of the twelfth or early thirteenth century) and Marie de France's *Lanval* (around 1160?), one has to admit that such a straightforward contrast between the silence and innocence of the accused and the eloquence of the accuser is not in evidence. In general, the false accusations of the queen are not voiced in the judicial domain, which remains under the control of a royal, feudal, and masculine power. The queen may only make a plea against the young man for insult and blasphemy. Her speech, rather beseeching than accusatory, is reported indirectly, and her voice is thus further mediated, while her participation in the actual trial is minimized, since indirect discourse does not give her the opportunity to voice her grievances directly. Thus, in *Graelent*, we are told:

La roïne molt s'esmerri,
A son seignor cria merci:
Qu'au chevalier face amener
Cele dont il li ot parler
Et dont il fet si grant vantage.
Entre les .II. soit la mostrance!
S'ele est plus bele, quite soit,
Ou se ce non, face le droit
Du mesdit et de la blastenge.³⁴

[The queen felt ashamed; she implored her husband that the knight should have to show this woman he talked about and praised so much. Let the two of them be compared! If the other is the more beautiful, let him be released, but if not, the insult and slander are to be put right.]³⁵

The same strategy appears in *Lanval*.³⁶ Furthermore, one notices when reading these *lais* from the perspective of the queen's trial that female beauty remains the primary reason for the presence of female characters. The famous scene in *Graelent* in which the king displays his wife so as to substantiate his own power stands out all the more since this narrative strategy, which constructs the queen's body as publicly desirable, is no different from the one used to describe Guinevere or Iseut. Certainly the tonality of the passages differs, as the beauty of the queen here is sometimes triumphant, sometimes tearful, but the rhetorical code which determines this objectification of the female body remains the same. In each case, a spectacle of female attractiveness is created, as can be seen most explicitly in the example of *Graelent*:

³⁴ Text cited from Koble and Séguy 2011, pp. 806–8, vv. 489–97.

³⁵ Translations of both *Lanval* and *Graelent* are my own.

³⁶ Koble and Séguy 2011, p. 358, vv. 313–19.

La roïne faisoit monter
 Sor un haut banc et desfubler,
 Puis demandoit a toz ensemble:
 “Seignors barons, que vos en semble?
 A soz ciel plus bele roïne,
 Cortoise dame, ne meschine?”

[King Arthur had the queen climb onto a high bench and remove her coat. He then asked the entire assembly: “Lords, what do you think? Is there under heaven a more beautiful queen, a more courteous lady or maiden?”]³⁷

Such an exhibition of royal power, as symbolized by the possession of superior beauty, corresponds to the scene in both *Graelent* and *Lanval* in which a fairy displays herself at court in order to defend the accused. This ritual may remind the reader of similar scenes in Bérout or in the *Mort le roi Artu* where the eroticized body of the queen becomes an argument for her justification. In *Graelent*, the fairy is clearly placed under the eyes of the public of the court:

Et quant la damoisele vint,
 Tote la cort a li se tint.
 ...
 Tuit l'esgarderent a merveille.
 D'une porpre toute vermeille
 A or brodee richement,
 Estoit vestue estroitement;
 Ses mantiaus valoît .I. chastel.

[And, when the damsel came, the whole court was enthralled ... Everybody marveled at her. She was dressed in a bright-red purple cloth with golden embroidery; her dress was tight-fitting. Her coat was worth the price of a castle.]³⁸

The beauty of the fairy brings to a halt the deliberation of the judges. Her physical body, accentuated by showy clothes that display her feminine form, helps to create a beautiful image which has the power to exonerate the accused. In this passage, an impression of beauty is rendered both by the insistence on the richness of the clothing which covers the body and by allusions to the fairy's nudity. The image of the fairy, tightly clothed, “vestue estroitement” in the same way as Iseut (Bérout, v. 1147), results from a subtle dialectic between the erotic seduction of unveiling and adornment, as the appearance of Lanval's “amie” clearly shows:

Ele iert vestue en itel guise
 De chainse blanc et de chemise
 Que tuit li costé li pareient,
 Ki de deus parz lacié esteient.
 Le cors ot gent, basse la hanche,
 Le col plus blanc que neif sur branche;
 ... Sis manteus fu de purpre bis;
 Les pans en ot entour li mis.

³⁷ Koble and Séguy 2011, pp. 802–4, vv. 433–8.

³⁸ Koble and Séguy 2011, pp. 814–16, vv. 615–25.

[She was wearing a white tunic and a white shirt laced up so that her sides were apparent. She had a fine body, and low hips. Her neck was whiter than snow. Her coat was made from dark silk; she had arranged its folds around her.]³⁹

In *Lanval*, the words of the fairy are explicit: her presence allows the young man to be acquitted, but it is the barons who must pronounce his liberation: “Si par mei peot estre aquitez,/ Par voz barons seit delivrez” [If he can be acquitted by my presence, let him be released by your barons].⁴⁰ Rather than presenting herself as Lanval’s or Graellent’s lawyer, there to manage their defense, the fairy simply allows her body to speak for her as if it were all the proof necessary. In this way, *Graelent* demonstrates the logic of how beauty can stand as proof when it contrasts the queen’s body with that of the fairy.

Contrary to what one might expect, then, even in tales which feature the queen’s false accusations, a woman’s participation in the judgment process is reduced to a minimum: there is still no discursive space for her spoken voice. Just as in the *Tristan* where Iseut’s *escondit* is delayed, in these *lais*, the fairy’s power, which seems at times in *Lanval* to rival that of Arthur, may not be asserted while her beauty is being judged. Whether she is the accused or the accuser, the queen may only hesitantly engage with the discourse of the law, at least when the decision is a matter of life and death for the accused. Reduced to her physical appearance, she is tolerated in the courtroom only as a form of proof, or as an element which simply renders the argument more poignant.

Having said this, one might wonder about the importance of body language in the rhetoric of a trial. Might it be possible to propose a reinterpretation of women’s participation in judicial debates through the use of the body? What kind of enunciative status ought to be given to this performance of innocent beauty? After all, body language played a significant role in performative rituals such as sermons and promises.⁴¹ One could even imagine that the spectacle of the guilty queen’s body, like that of the fairy lover, has a language of its own, a discourse of the body conceived of as a space for self-affirmation. One might read this as a form of resistance to a patriarchal justice that was deaf to all pleas for a more profound understanding of what was being judged. The texts we have examined pay particular attention to the way in which the queen is dressed when she is presented as a victim of those in power. Might this be considered as an example of how female characters could symbolically participate in the narrator’s, or, in the case of illustrations, the artist’s dynamic of disculpation? This question poses a serious and recurrent problem for the reader trying to understand literary texts and works of art from the point of view of gender. If the fairy’s majesty

³⁹ Koble and Séguy 2011, p. 378, vv. 559–72.

⁴⁰ Koble and Séguy 2011, p. 384, vv. 623–4.

⁴¹ Gauvard 2008, pp. 13–27.

clearly springs from a performance of female beauty as triumphant, the queen's spectacle of innocence might be understood in a similar way that takes account of this rhetoric of the body from a woman's point of view. I would suggest, therefore, that we bear in mind that the queen's portrait could be more than an image created for the self-indulgent masculine contemplation of a beauty in tears.

The Status of Eloquence in the "False Guinevere" Episode: Uncovering Masculine Beauty

In the end, this curious link between beauty and justice could also be documented in the *Lancelot du Lac*, a thirteenth-century prose romance which forms part of the *Lancelot-Graal*. In the episode of the false Guinevere and more specifically in the long version of this episode,⁴² the appropriation of a judicial discourse by a female character is quite striking. Guinevere is accused of treachery by a young lady usurping her identity. She is alleged by the false Guinevere to have taken the place of the true bride during the night of her wedding to Arthur and to have pretended for years to be the real queen. In the short version, the court scene, which features Guinevere's accusation, takes place almost exclusively between the traitor Berthelai and King Arthur. In the long version, however, the lady who accompanies Berthelai and who acts on behalf of the false Guinevere takes over his role. The illustration of this passage in the beautifully illuminated manuscript Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 118 (Figure 10.10) renders this female assumption of discursive power with particular clarity. The image is designed symmetrically, in the manner of a court scene. The figure of a king as judge, holding his scepter, divides the picture into two separate groups of characters facing each other. As Robert Jacob has shown, this spatial organization follows the rules for how to represent judicial debates.⁴³ The illuminator has also respected the canonical separation of the accusing party and the defense: to the left of the image, that is to the right of the judge, should stand the plaintiffs, while on the other side stand the accused and their defense. In this case, a woman and a man surround the king on each side: the damsel representing the false Guinevere and a knight, probably Berthelai, on the left of the image, and Queen Guinevere, with perhaps Gawain, on the right. This judicial staging reinforces the game of doubles at the heart of the episode.

⁴² The different versions of the prose *Lancelot* transmit the episode of the false Guinevere in two forms. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 768, which forms the basis of the edition in Kennedy 1980, contains the short version; the long version is transmitted by the manuscripts chosen for the edition in Micha 1978–82 (vol. 1, pp. 1–175). The edition in Mosès 1998 is based on the text of the long version in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 752. For more information on this episode, see Kennedy 1986; and Harf 1984.

⁴³ Jacob 1994, pp. 124–33, figs. 50, 51, 54, pls. XIV and XV.

10.10 The damsel of the False Guinevere arriving at Arthur's court. *Lancelot du Lac*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 118, fol. 264v. Photo BnF.



The king is turning towards the young lady on the left, who is carrying a letter with a large, red seal, placed so as to catch the eye of the beholder. The letter, which takes up the space between the king and the female messenger, moves the picture's focal point to the left. Here too, the image respects judicial procedure in addition to the logic of the narrative. Since the action brought to court constitutes the beginning of a trial, the plaintiffs rightly have symbolic priority.⁴⁴ The illuminator displays this by placing the two female characters in symmetrical opposition to each other yet off-center in relation to the king. Furthermore, the messenger is represented coming forward towards the front of the image while the queen is standing back as though in retreat.

This is not, however, the first time that an eloquent woman has appeared in the romance. This episode seems modeled on an earlier recurring scene in the first part of the text.⁴⁵ The arrival of the damsel sent by the false Guinevere at King Arthur's court mirrors that of the messenger of the Lady of the Lake at Claudas's court at the beginning of the romance:

⁴⁴ Jacob 1994, pp. 132–3.

⁴⁵ Mosès 1991, pp. 184–93; Micha 1978–82, vol. 7, XIa, 5, p. 104.

... descendi une damoisele laiens
et vint devant le roi mult fierement
la ou il seoit entre ses chevaliers.
... et elle parla si haut qu'ele
fu de toz entendue et dist mult
hardiement: "Dex saut le roi Artu
et sa compaignie."^a

... a young lady arrived at court
and walked boldly up to the king
as he was sitting with his knights
... and she spoke loudly enough
for them all to hear her as she said
boldly, "God save King Arthur."^b

La ou Claudas seoit au mengier en tel joie et
en tel feste con vos oez, si avint chose que la
danmoisele qui del lach venoit entra en la sale
... La danmoisele vint devant Claudas, la ou
il seoit a son haut mengier ... et parla si haut
que bien fu oïe: "Rois Claudas, fait elle, Dex te
saut."^c

As Claudas—to continue—was enjoying his
lively banquet, the young lady from the Lake
made her entrance. ... The messenger came
and stood before Claudas at his high table ...
and she spoke in a clear, loud voice.
"King Claudas," she said "God save you!"^d

a Mosès 1998, pp. 84–6;

b Lacy 1993–96, vol. 2, part III, p. 245a;

c Mosès 1991, pp. 186–8;

d Lacy 1993–96, vol. 2, part I, p. 26a.

Such repetition demands explanation. On the one hand, it permits the observation, and there are many other examples to confirm this, that women's participation in public life is particularly remarkable and intense in the first part of the romance, the section that Elspeth Kennedy has identified as the non-cyclical *Lancelot*.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the long version of the story of the false Guinevere, with which Micha started his edition of the prose *Lancelot*, seems to correspond to a moment of profound change within the spirit of the romance, most notably, when Viviane, the Lady of the Lake, Lancelot's fairy protector, exits the stage of the narrative, not to reappear for some time. This scene thus places the false Guinevere's messenger in the line of damsels or messengers sent by the Lady of the Lake to reprimand royal figures. Consequently, the false Guinevere plays a role similar to that of Viviane as she not only assumes the title of queen, but also seizes the fairy's power, the better to mimic it. The false Guinevere in the long version of the episode incarnates a dangerous form of female power, entirely ruled by fraud and falsehood, yet shaped on the model of a benevolent figure.

In our entire corpus of judicial scenes, this is the only time that a woman's beauty appears to be matched by her eloquence. The description of the arrival of the messenger at court uses the same typology as those scenes which describe the revelation of fairy beauty in the *lais* of *Graelent* and *Lanval*. It creates a spectacle, playing on the woman's clothing and the gold in her hair, which closely follows the descriptions of beauty cited above. The scene seems all the more to be staged as a deliberate spectacle since the messenger takes off her wimple, which is intended to "desvelupe[r]" her "grant beauté" [unveil her great beauty]⁴⁷ in order to speak with her head uncovered. There

⁴⁶ On this point, see Foehr-Janssens, forthcoming.

⁴⁷ Mosès 1998, p. 86.

can be no doubt here that the damsel herself is responsible for putting her own beauty on display. This also follows the model of the arrival at court of the fairy in the *lais* of *Lanval* and *Graelent*. The false Guinevere, through the intervention of her representative, assumes this superposition of visual and linguistic strategies, in a powerful display of self-affirmation.

Perhaps this emphasis on the messenger's abilities explains the strange presence of a portrait of Lancelot in the scene in which the hero defends the queen. Based on my analysis of women's participation in matters of justice, I am tempted to see this portrait as indicative of the importance of a rhetoric of the body in judicial affairs. Trapped by a plot involving false resemblance which prevents her from defending herself through her beauty alone (she is, incidentally, seriously threatened with disfigurement), Guinevere can only count on the intervention of Lancelot, who must use his strength to prove the falsehood of the accuser. At the moment when he is about to speak in order to "fausser le jugement du roi" [contradict the king's judgment],⁴⁸ Lancelot "desfuble" [uncovers] himself (as does the queen to the king in *Graelent*, and as the false Guinevere's messenger does as well) in order to speak to the king, revealing all the splendor of his body which he is devoting to the pursuit of the cause of justice:

[Lancelot] se lance maintenant par mi la presse, si sache horz de son col un mantel qui estoit d'un mult riche drap d'orfrois a penne d'ermines ... Lanceloz fu mult de grant bialté.⁴⁹

[Lancelot darted through the crowd, tearing away from his neck a cloak of rich orphreyed silk with ermine lining ... Lancelot was extremely handsome.]⁵⁰

This description is remarkable since it seems unnecessary from a narrative point of view. Lancelot is already well-known to the reader and his portrait appears much earlier in the romance. Yet, the sudden irruption onto the scene of the queen's defender calls for such a description, if we read this episode according to a rhetoric which we have identified as being present in both the exoneration of the adulterous queen through pathos and the sensuality of the fairy's exhibited body as proof for acquittal. Indeed, to counter the false words of a false queen, nothing less will do than the combined forces of virile beauty, manly strength, and masculine eloquence. The coalescence of sight and sound stands out in this portrait as the persuasive force of Lancelot's beauty underpins the influence of his words:

Quant il vint devant le roi, si fu mult grant la presse por escoter qu'il voloit dire et fu esgardez de maintes genz por ce qu'il estoit en cors.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Mosès 1998, p. 246.

⁴⁹ Mosès 1998, p. 248.

⁵⁰ Lacy 1993–96, vol. 2, part III, p. 269b.

⁵¹ Mosès 1998, p. 248.

[When he stood before the king, everyone crowded around to hear what he wanted to say, and many people gaped to see him come up without his cloak.]⁵²

“Etre en corps” [without his cloak—literally: being in the body] may express a narrative dynamic induced by the way, again and again in these romances, vindication is achieved through the exculpatory argument provided by a character’s physical beauty.

Conclusion

Medieval romances never directly confront the question of the fundamental injustice of sexual morality under a patriarchal system but they do ask, indirectly, how legitimate desire can be in a context which makes beauty an instrument of power and royal justice. This close reading of the court scenes featuring the figure of the queen in texts such as the *Tristan* of Béroul, *Lanval* and *Graelent*, the *Mort le roi Artu*, or the prose *Lancelot* has demonstrated the determining role played by beauty in judicial procedures involving adultery. What emerges from this reading is that a woman’s problematic position before the law, which leads to the necessary transformation of her beauty into an exculpatory argument based on pathos and eroticism, is at the heart of how justice is rendered aesthetic, or perhaps more accurately, spectacular, in a literary context.

⁵² Lacy 1993–96, vol. 2, part III, p. 269b.

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Claude of France: Justice, Power, and the Queen as Advocate for Her People

Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier

Résumé français: Au début du seizième siècle, le roi Louis XII et la reine Anne de Bretagne, sans héritier, préparait l'avenir de leur seule enfant viable, Claude de France, alors que Claude de Seyssel théorisait des freins pour brider le pouvoir royal. La présente étude scrute des images de justice et de pouvoir fabriquées pour ces protagonistes avant et après l'accession au trône de Claude en 1515, tout en les contrastant avec d'autres conçues pour la famille Valois-Angoulême, dont Louise de Savoie assurait la montée au trône à côté de Claude, avant de consolider le pouvoir de son fils François I^{er} au détriment de son épouse. Des outils de communication artistiques—sculpture tombale, enluminures (en particulier l'Abécédaire de Claude), échafaudages d'entrées royales, écrits de Pierre Gringore et de Jean Bouchet, parfois liés aux Mystères, aident à comprendre comment des approches divergentes de pouvoir et de justice ont été formulées et se sont entrechoquées. Des figurations de la Justice, comme vertu cardinale ou comme protagoniste du "procès du paradis," cette dernière secondée par la Miséricorde, montrent comment la princesse Claude a été programmée pour promouvoir une politique juste et miséricordieuse, en synchronie avec le rôle que certains de ses sujets l'ont par la suite priée d'assumer.

It seems unlikely that a study dedicated to the weighty concepts of justice and power would focus in on Queen Claude of France, whose terrestrial voyage lasted a mere 24 years, and whose *persona* remains largely invisible to History today.¹ Yet, for a start, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 159, a beautifully illustrated Primer fabricated for Claude in her early years which has received a good deal of critical attention of late, provides an

My sincere thanks to Anne D. Hedeman and Rosalind Brown-Grant for their exacting and intelligent editing.

¹ See, most recently, Wellman 2013, pp. 120–123, remarking on "Claude's undemanding character." For shifting interpretations, see C. Brown 2010a; C. Brown 2010b; Wilson-Chevalier 2010; and Hand 2013, pp. 143–5.

extraordinary document related to the shaping and putative performance of a queen.² It affords a rare and precious tool for comprehending how Queen Anne of Brittany in particular, with the active collaboration of King Louis XII no doubt, was willfully grooming the young princess for her future political role.³ Even more probingly, it offers insight into “the social life of illuminations,” advancing our perception of how communal values intervened in the fabricating of an exceptional early modern sense of self.⁴ This luxury educational tool was arguably laying the foundations for Claude’s evolving private and public identities, which during the first two and a half decades of the sixteenth century were at the center of a political give-and-take between her regal parents on the one hand, and on the other, the Valois-Angoulême political trio formed by Louise of Savoy and her children Francis and Margaret, the latter emerging as a unit from back stage before stealing the show. Unpacking issues of justice and power may help us determine whether, as this process unfolded, Claude was merely a pawn in these more famous political protagonists’ games or if she was an active agent in her own right. As this struggle for power was playing itself out, two configurations involving the allegorical figure of Justice were concomitantly being invoked. In the first she was cast in the role of a Cardinal Virtue; in the second she appeared in the Parliament of Heaven debate. Could this backdrop help us sharpen our perception of an adult Claude of France located at the vortex of a tug-of-war over how power and justice were to be understood and implemented within the French realm?

The Cardinal Virtues and the Judicial Philosophy of Claude’s Parents

In 1498, hence prior to Louis XII’s second marriage to Anne of Brittany, the king’s royal entry into Paris included a spectacle that Nicole Hochner deems the first public formulation of the conceptual foundations of Louis’s new monarchical state, reinvigorating the values set forth in John of Salisbury’s twelfth-century *Policraticus*, already impacting the spirit of the 1484 Estates.⁵ The elaborate scaffold program at the Châtelet, influenced by the king’s judicial officers and located in the vicinity of their Palais, included a king enthroned with Good Counsel (his “Grand Conseil”) on his dexter and Justice (his Court of Parlement) on his sinister side, a figure of Injustice reclining beneath his feet. Claude de Seyssel would later define the role of these very institutions, and religion, as necessary bridles limiting royal power or “Puissance.”⁶

² Binski and Panayotova 2005, pp. 229–31; Wieck et al. 2012; and Hand 2013, pp. 172–86.

³ C. Brown 2012.

⁴ Coleman et al. 2013. My thanks to Anne D. Hedeman for signaling this text to me.

⁵ Hochner 2006, pp. 52–67, 177; see also Baumgartner 1994, pp. 63–5, 92–3.

⁶ See *L’entree du roi De France...* printed in 1498, as preserved in Paris, BnF, Rés. 4 Lb29–19, p. 8. See Renoux-Zagamé 2010 for the juridical bases of Seyssel’s political thought.

In Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 79a, Louis XII appears kneeling in something resembling the splendid attire of this entry, accompanied by four saints; and directly behind the king is a young Saint Louis bearing a scepter and a hand of Justice, a saintly model for the humble, virtuous, and just prince, intellectually harnessed to the common good.⁷ A path was thereby opened for Saint Louis's subsequent staging on Anne of Brittany's parents' tomb, originally erected in the Carmelite convent near her ducal castle in Nantes.⁸

1499—the year Anne conceived this monumental tomb—was a portentous year. First, on January 7, her marriage to Louis XII was choreographed in Nantes, after which she resumed her former role as queen of France. Second, in March, with the goal of reforming the royal judicial system, Louis implemented the Ordinances of Blois, the preamble of which explicitly singled out Justice: “la première et plus digne des vertus cardinales, aussi est-elle la principale et la plus nécessaire partie de toutes monarchies, royaulmes” [Justice is the first and the most worthy of the cardinal virtues, and she is thus the main and most necessary part of all monarchies, realms].⁹ For Anne's dynastic project, Jean Perréal, Michel Colombe, and a number of Franco-Italian collaborators began to give concrete form to these Cardinal Virtues, conceived for the four corners of an elaborate black, white, and red marble podium, crowned by a slab bearing the *gisants* of Anne's parents. The political program is Anne's; and a linchpin of the project is the magnificent marble statue of Justice (Figure 11.1), the virtue meaningfully placed closest to the duke of Brittany's effigy.¹⁰ Anne was emphasizing her wielding of sovereign justice over the Breton duchy, legally bequeathed to her by her father, Francis II, in 1488. Nonetheless, the patron saints of her two royal husbands occupy niches at the head of the tomb, for the duchess was simultaneously queen of France; and Saint Louis is positioned closest to Justice too. Most importantly, Anne's personification of Justice holds a blunted sword (Figure 11.2), a telling sign of the ethical stance underscoring the judicial philosophy of the new royal team.¹¹ Third, October 1499 brought the birth of Claude of France, Anne's first child to live beyond the age of three.¹² As her artists labored to complete her dynastic tomb in the first years of the new century, Anne and Louis were painstakingly constructing the principled empowerment of their precious princess Claude.

⁷ Backhouse 2005, pp. 1–9, and pl. 1; Hochner 2006, pp. 149–52.

⁸ See Hochner 2006, pp. 127–33, for the contrast between the political conceptions of Seyssel and those prevailing under Francis I, especially those of Guillaume Budé.

⁹ Cited by Hochner 2006, p. 178; see also Baumgartner 1994, p. 95.

¹⁰ On Colombe's tomb, see Pradel 1953, pp. 45–55; Jestaz 1988; Burk 2007; and Marksches 2007. For the historically recent addition of the sword alongside the scales, see Jacob 1994, p. 225.

¹¹ See Chew 1947, pp. 119–20, on the “truncated and pointless” sword as a sign of Mercy.

¹² See E. A. R. Brown 2010, p. 193, for the six ill-fated births preceding Claude's.



11.1 Michel Colombe, The Virtue of Justice, from the tomb of Francis II of Brittany and Margaret of Foix, Nantes, cathédrale Saint-Pierre. Photo author.



11.2 Michel Colombe, Detail of the Virtue of Justice, tomb of Francis II of Brittany and Margaret of Foix, Nantes, cathédrale Saint-Pierre. Photo author.

The Parliament of Heaven, Mystery Plays, and the “Social Life of Illumination”

Anne’s italianizing monument calls upon a tradition inherited from classical antiquity that tended to single out, as the virtues requisite for a prince, Justice (the sole unmovable pillar as her sisters came and went), Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude.¹³ In the Middle Ages, instead, the ideal form of justice was that of God;¹⁴ and a specifically Christian tradition—intimately intertwined with the lively universe of popular theater—thrived. The renowned author Pierre Gringore, whose work, like that of Claude de Seyssel, sought to buttress (and influence) Louis XII, moved in Parisian dramaturgic circles. Archives dating from both 1501 and 1504 designate him as a “compositeur” [composer] engaged in writing and producing mystery plays.¹⁵ The protagonists of the Parliament of Heaven, a well-known cluster of Passion play characters, figure in his *Folles entreprises* of late 1505:

Des quatre vertuz principales que les princes doyvent tousjours avoir en eulx et se gouverner par icelles:

[...] Des principales vertuz, dame Justice
Doit assister tousjours au près du prince
Et corriger ceulx qui, en la province,
De jour en jour commettent quelque vice.
Misericorde est en ce cas propice,
Et Verité jamais n’en doit loings estre
Car autrement Paix ne peult apparostre
Près du prince ...

[On the four main virtues that princes must always embody and govern by: Of the main virtues, Lady Justice must always be present near the prince and correct those who, in this realm from day to day commit some vice. Mercy is in this case propitious and Truth must never be far away, for otherwise Peace cannot appear beside the prince.]¹⁶

The royal entry of Queen Anne of Brittany into Paris in 1504, for which Gringore produced an unnamed mystery play, was probably fresh in his mind as he wrote these lines.

It was about the same time or shortly thereafter that this form of theater left its imprint on the ambitious Primer that Anne commissioned to teach the little princess Claude her ABCs and basic prayers.¹⁷ More ambitiously still,

¹³ For their roots in Plato’s *Republic*, see O’Reilly 1988; and Bejczy 2011.

¹⁴ Jacob 1994, p. 12.

¹⁵ C. Brown 2003, pp. 12–27. For the characterization of Gringore as “a genuine people’s poet” and a list of the writers then championing the French king, see Scheller 1999, p. 197.

¹⁶ Text cited from D’Héricault and Montaiglon 1868, vol. 1, pp. 38–9; on the text, see C. Brown 2003, pp. 16–17. See Chew 1947, especially pp. 35–42, on the Parliament of Heaven as a law court and its relation to mystery plays; also Mâle 1969, pp. 35–43.

¹⁷ Wieck 2007, pp. 267–77; and Wieck 2012, pp. 152–62. For a sign of the increasing acknowledgement of the role of theater on European art in the early Renaissance, see Stallini 2011.

as Claude's tutors worked with her to help her master the alphabet, laid out on page 2 in conjunction with the *Pater Noster* prayer, the "performative presence" of the figures in her book were being conceived to help her young mind, through "spectatorial empathy," not only interiorize Christian devotion but also envision her future role as a princess of power and rank.¹⁸ Recent methodological approaches have conceptualized "the social life of illumination," seeing it as a "way to map the multiple dimensions of medieval social life."¹⁹ In this specific instance, Roger Wieck has explored the somewhat open link between the narrative scenes that frame the folios of the Fitzwilliam manuscript containing Claude's Primer, sometimes attributed to the Italian Guido Mazzoni, and Arnoul Gréban's *Mystère de la Passion*.²⁰ Scrutiny of this relation to theatrical performances clarifies precisely how Louis and Anne transmitted their ethical system to their daughter Claude, making it possible to comprehend how Claude came to endorse a similar stance once she ascended the throne in her own right.

The royal couple's contact with popular drama led their heiress into the universe of what was arguably the greatest tool of social mediation of their time.²¹ No other form of communication could then bring together such a broad, sociologically diverse crowd, according even its plebeian members a voice.²² No other could reflect and unite an entire site-specific community, literate and illiterate alike. No other was so reactive to the world without—with actors inflecting the text they were given to recite, or picnic breaks coinciding with meals on stage.²³ Most importantly for this study though, issues of justice were such an integral part of these collective dramaturgical rites that during a performance of the *Jeu de Holophernes* in Tournai, as late as 1549, the genuine decapitation of a condemned criminal was moved up on stage.²⁴

Gréban's *Passion*, first composed and staged in Paris around 1450, is however but one major, original component of a unique literary genre that thrived between the mid-fifteenth and the mid-sixteenth century. And access to early sixteenth-century mystery play texts was immensely complex.²⁵

¹⁸ These terms are from Clark and Sheingorn 2013, pp. 208 and 215.

¹⁹ Coleman et al. 2013, p. 2.

²⁰ Wieck 2012, pp. 152–3, comments on the disjunction between images and texts; while König 2012, pp. 139–49, reflects on the "gibberish French," which he links to the Italian Mazzoni. Anne of Brittany employed "painteresses" [female painters] at Amboise (Thomas 1993, p. 56, n. 5); and interestingly, both Mazzoni's wife, Pellegrina Discalzi, and his daughter were active in his workshop (Chastel and Klein 1969, p. 250, n. 9). See Hand 2013, pp. 174–82, on relationships between images and prayers. On Gréban, see Smith 2011.

²¹ See, for example, Runnalls 1998, especially pp. 61–81, and 83–99. Runnalls counts about 220 miracle and mystery play texts, most of them performed between 1450 and 1550 (p. 63), but surmises that hundreds, perhaps thousands, were actually performed (p. 413).

²² Koopmans 1997, pp. 11–20; and Koopmans 2008.

²³ Couturier and Runnalls 1991, p. 43; and Runnalls 1998, p. 77.

²⁴ Koopmans 1997, p. 26.

²⁵ Runnalls 2002, pp. 1161–77, and Smith 2011. Wieck 2012, p. 160, observes that not all the scenes coincide with Gréban's text; Hand 2013, p. 181, establishes a more generic link to *The Books of Adam and Eve*.



11.3 A preacher preaching to townsmen. Jean Michel, *Le Mystère de la passion de Jésus-Christ* ... (Paris: Anthoine Vérard, 1493/1494), Paris, BnF, Rés. Vélins 600, fol. A2r. Photo BnF.

Graham Runnalls noted that the theological orientation of their authors, the “fatistes,” could inflect the text—something suggested by the insertion of this illustration into the vellum *Passion* belonging to Charles VIII (Anne of Brittany’s first husband) (Figure 11.3); and Darwin Smith has firmly located Gréban within the confines of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, with its “organic” link between theologians and canon lawyers.²⁶ In fact, theatrical productions tended to be directed by priests or men of law.²⁷ The order to perform a mystery play could come from the top-most rung of the social ladder; and together, monarchs, nobles, and wealthy burghers—lawyers and/or businessmen most often intermarried with the lawyer cast—activated “almost all the workers and artisans of a town,” male and female alike.²⁸ Hence, when images that conjured up mystery play scenes were inserted into Claude’s first book, Anne of Brittany and her advisors were intentionally drawing upon a form of shared collective memory and experience that could help confirm the little princess’s sense of self at the very heart of the French realm.

The royal desire to be associated with *Passion* plays surfaced as early as 1402, when letters patent created the unique *Confrérie de la Passion* in Paris, with the sole aim of organizing such plays.²⁹ Yet once the seat of government of the realm had shifted to the Loire Valley, Amboise began its career as an important site of theatrical production; and queens were potential protagonists. In 1461, the municipality sponsored the performance of a morality play for the royal entry of Charlotte of Savoy. In 1494, it staged an ill-documented *Mystère de la Passion*, the very year that Anthoine Vêrard offered Jean Michel’s *Passion* to Anne’s first husband.³⁰

Religious plays were perceived as performative, capable of warding off drought or the plague.³¹ When, on Christmas night 1496, a magnificent *Mystère de la Nativité* was presented within the walls of the castle of Amboise—under a bevy of gunpowder-driven rockets and moving stars, with angels carrying a fleur-de-lis over the garden to announce Christ’s birth to the shepherds³²—the goal was plausibly to aid Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany in producing a viable heir to the throne. The couple was unsuccessful. But Anne and Louis’s viable Claude had become Francis of Valois’s fiancée in May and just reached her sixth birthday when, on October 25, 1506, Amboise inhabitants made the collective decision to stage an eight-day *Passion et Resurrection Nostre Seigneur*. Since a text from 1511 attests to the interest of Louise of Savoy and her son Francis in this performance, which materialized in 1507, it seems likely that it celebrated

²⁶ Couturier and Runnalls 1991, p. 45.

²⁷ Runnalls 1998, p. 78.

²⁸ Runnalls 1998, pp. 73–81.

²⁹ Runnalls 1998, p. 95.

³⁰ Runnalls 1990, pp. 8–10.

³¹ Enders 2002, pp. 132–4, discusses plays as prayer and thanksgiving.

³² Runnalls 1990, pp. 10–12.

the recent engagement of Francis and Claude. Runnalls concludes that it staged the Creation, Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection, in line with “the most ambitious” great mystery plays of the age.³³ The Amboise spectacle offers a perfect link back to Claude’s Primer, in which episodes from the Creation, Nativity, and Resurrection loom large.

Forging a Queen to be the Advocate and Mediator of Her People

In their edition of Gréban’s *Mystère de la Passion*, Micheline de Combarieu du Grès and Jean Subrenat qualify its author as “a theologian of hope as much as of faith,” and they highlight two main facets of his text. The first is his special devotion to the Virgin and more general fascination with female characters, many from the Gospels, but others less anticipated, like the wet nurse of Herod’s son. This links to their second point: the accent Gréban placed on the pardoning of sinners—made possible by a merciful God and the casting of his son Jesus as a figure of pity, pardon, and tenderness.³⁴ Characteristics such as these may well have attracted the sympathy of Anne of Brittany and her spiritual advisors, who were carefully gendering Claude’s first book. Whereas Creation scenes were only incorporated into Passion plays after Gréban had left Paris in 1473, they had recently been performed in Amiens and Mons in 1500 and 1501.³⁵ In the fifth of the nine frames dedicated to the Creation and the Fall in Claude’s manuscript, the overarching rubric mentions the creation of Adam and Eve (both misspelled); yet willfully, to my mind, only the Creation of Eve is actually shown (Figure 11.4).³⁶ Moreover, the nude Eve of the little depiction carefully set beneath the beginning of the *Ave Maria* prayer was given a fully positive valence, embodied and beautiful, inspired by a new Italian canon, despite the fact that she would now actively go on to sin.³⁷

Fast-forwarding through frames of mystery play sequences that end with Adam and Eve’s son Seth planting seeds in his father’s tomb, Claude encountered Adam—or Eve?—praying for salvation in Limbo (Figure 11.5, lower right).³⁸ The Parliament of Heaven intervenes at this point in Passion plays, moving the theme of Justice and the world of legal conflict to center stage. Jody Enders sees this debate—with its cast of God and his four daughters, Ladies Mercy, Justice, Truth, and (in her equation) Charity—as

³³ Runnalls 1990, pp. 11–31, particularly p. 14, for the 1511 text mentioning “madame et monseigneur d’Angoulesme.”

³⁴ Combarieu du Grès and Subrenat 1987, pp. 37–41.

³⁵ Smith 2011, p. 198.

³⁶ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 159, p. 3. To cite but one single instance, the iconographical contrast with the two representations of Michelangelo at the Sistine Chapel, created shortly after this book, could not be greater.

³⁷ Wieck 2012, p. 155, specifies that the “prudish” elements were added later.

³⁸ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 159, p. 6.



11.4 God creating the sun, moon, and stars; God creating Eve; God instructing Adam and Eve. *The Primer of Claude de France*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 159, p. 3. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



11.5 Seth planting the seeds in Adam's grave; souls in Limbo; the Parliament of Heaven. *The Primer of Claude de France*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 159, p. 6. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

a “structure” of the Passion that is heavily inflected by a juridical universe in which mercy prevails over justice and pity over logic.³⁹ Her detailed study of an earlier fourteenth-century *Advocacie Nostre Dame Sainte Marie*, “a trial about trials,” affords part of her proof; and the Virgin Mary is already cast therein as “a good and wise lawyer who often delivers us through litigation.” Hence when the choice was made to include the Parliament of Heaven in Claude’s Primer, a European theme related to justice and power, grounded in a long, multifaceted literary and pictorial tradition, was being revived and reinvested by its patron-queen.

As early as 1493/1494, during Anne of Brittany’s first reign, Vêrard had offered her spouse Charles VIII a text printed on vellum known as the *Vengeance Nostre Seigneur*.⁴⁰ And one of its illustrations (Figure 11.6) offers an abbreviated heavenly trial, in which God is shown blessing two ladies—Justice with her sword and Mercy, in dialogue with Justice on the same page. Additionally, the first (and repeated) woodcut of the *Passion cyclique*, published in Paris in 1507, offers a more traditional rendition of the same theme (Figure 11.7), figuring four allegorical figures: Truth, Justice, Mercy, and now Peace. A fifth protagonist, Wisdom, aligned with God the Father and much resembling a French queen on her throne, reigns with Justice on her right-hand side—the latter sporting the ermine typical of such queens. The eyes of Wisdom, however, lead the viewer to Mercy, towards whom she also extends her identifying scroll. As God gives his blessing, Wisdom points heavenwards, indicating that she is fulfilling his will.

In the manuscript illumination targeting Claude (Figure 11.8), “Justice the Logician,” red with pent-up anger, gazes up towards Peace, shown leaning over and blunting Justice’s sword with her mantle.⁴¹ Meanwhile (recalling Gringore’s 1505 alignment), Truth—identified with the young maiden to our right—is led by God’s ever-expressive eyes to grasp the concept of Mercy, whose hand condones Peace. United by the purity of white, God and his benevolent daughters overpower harsh Justice;⁴² and logically the next folio (Figure 11.9) begins with a sequel, set beneath the (again flawed) rubric designation above (“Coument Ieustis enbrase Mirerico” [How Justice embraces Mercy]), reflecting a medieval expiatory practice that forced a judge having wrongfully condemned a victim to kiss him after he had personally taken him down from the gallows.⁴³ Affording concrete evidence of the Primer’s didactic intent, God blesses and turns his full attention to two young girls, role models for Claude no doubt, shown mirroring the Virtues’ harmonious embrace.

³⁹ See Enders 1992, especially pp. 221–33, from which the following citations in this paragraph are taken.

⁴⁰ Weigert 2013.

⁴¹ The quotation is from Enders 1992, p. 175.

⁴² This reading is in contrast to Wieck 2012, pp. 157–8, where they are identified as Peace and Justice. The two girls on page 7 are Truth and Mercy, for Wieck.

⁴³ Jacob 1994, p. 78.



11.6 Justice and Mercy. *Vengeance nostre seigneur* (Paris: Anthoine Vérard, 1493/1494), Paris, BnF, Rés. Vélins 601, fol. A6r. Photo BnF.

Le proces de paradis

zacharie
 Croire ne puis ce que tu dis
 Ma femme et moy sommes hors daage
 Impossible est que ayons lignaige
 Attendu sa sterelite
 Mesme nnt mon antiquite
 Je tiens ton dit a moquerie

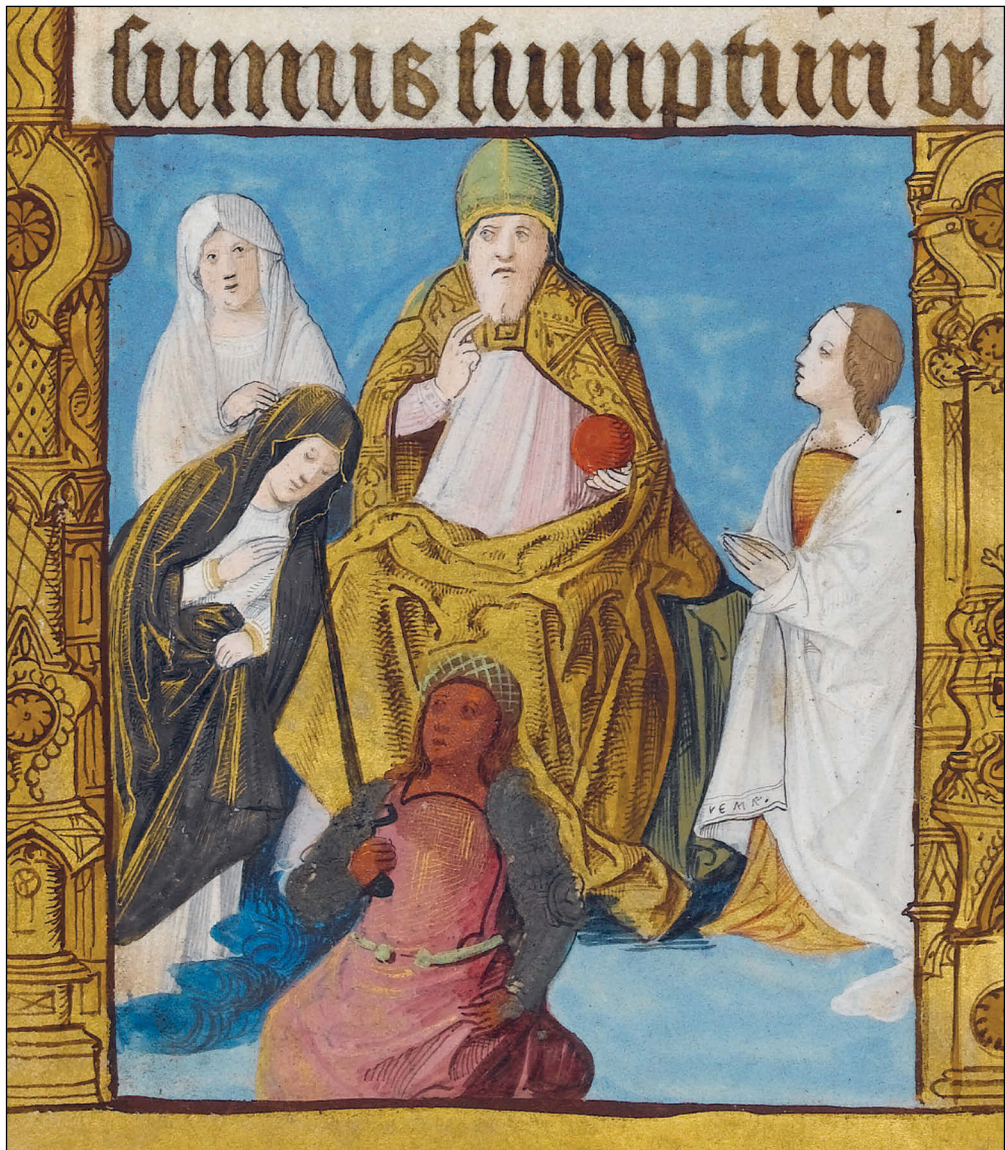
Gabriel
 Tu seras muet zaquarie
 Jusques a la natiuite
 De iehan ton filz/puis Verite
 Porteras de Bray tesmoingnaige

¶ Jcy sen Va tange en paradis



Misericorde
 Dieu puissant magnanime saige
 Ayez pitie dhumanite
 Et lhomme ne soit delecte
 De tous pointz hors de vostre grace

Justice
 Il doit estre pour sa fallace
 Condamne de mort eternelle
Misericorde
 Justice trop estes rebelle



11.8 Detail of the Parliament of Heaven. *The Primer of Claude de France*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 159, p. 6. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



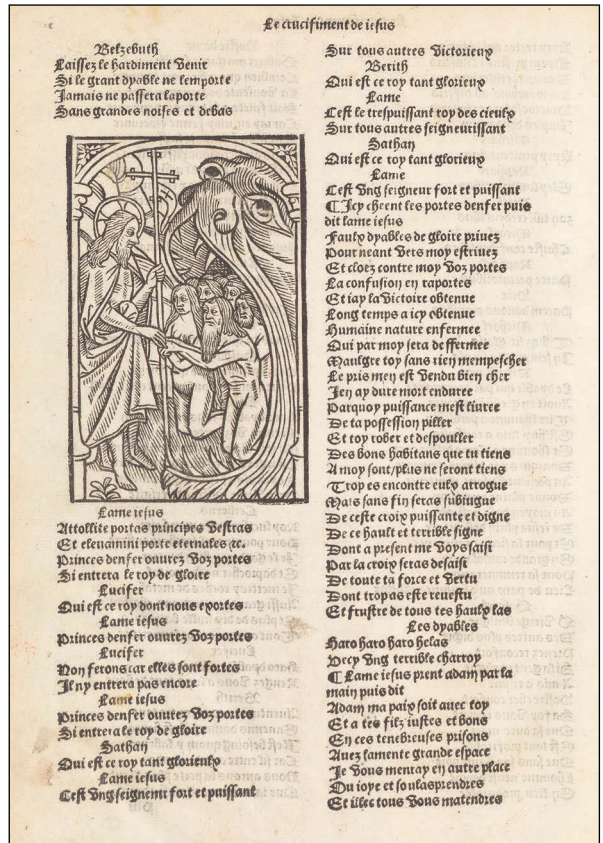
11.9 Justice and Mercy embracing; Gabriel dispatched to Earth; the high priest dispatching a messenger. *The Primer of Claude de France*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 159, p. 7. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



11.10 Annunciation to the shepherds; the Virgin as mediator for her people;
the Virgin of Mercy in Limbo. *The Primer of Claude de France*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam
Museum, Ms. 159, p. 13. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fast-forwarding one last time through the fine vellum pages of Claude's book, on the first frame of page 13 (Figure 11.10) the princess is presented with the story of the lowly shepherds who received God's grace. Regal space is thus allotted to a message of hope and charity initially promoted by the mendicant orders, and the very *raison d'être* of mystery plays.⁴⁴ In the second frame, the seated Virgin Mary presents her Child to a socially diverse group of men, but like God's angel above, she too singles out, as the recipient of her grace, the one of apparently three lowly shepherds who is depicted kneeling on her sinister side. The space accorded Anne of Brittany's coat-of-arms below makes the conflation of "Mary mediator of the people" and French queenship perfectly clear.

The very last frame devoted to these scenes recalling mystery play performances displaces the canonical conclusion which generally, as in the 1507 *Passion Cyclique* (Figure 11.11), highlighted Christ's Harrowing of Hell. In Claude's Primer, male bows to female once again, and Christ's Mother is given His place.⁴⁵ In the woodcut, Christ actively reaches down to redeem Adam, whereas Claude's Virgin Queen/Mercy in Figure 11.10 stands erect, simply lowering her gaze. Yet the age-old tradition whereby the Virgin defended her right to litigate in court on the behalf of others,⁴⁶ and the nearby arms of Queen Anne caution against interpreting the Virgin's as a merely passive stance. The emphasis on Eve's beautiful creation and Mary Queen of Heaven's capacity to advocate prove that the empowerment of Claude of France was at the very heart of Anne of Brittany's concerns. And once she had become the young consort of King Francis I, Claude would truly need to draw strength from the deliberate training she had received.



11.11 The Harrowing of Hell. *Passion cyclique* (Paris: Jean Petit, Geoffroy de Marnef, Michel Le Noir, 1507), Paris, BnF, Rés. Yf 16, fol. 300v. Photo BnF.

⁴⁴ McDannell and Lang 1988, pp. 73, 78–9, discuss the role of the mendicant orders in the creation of a conception of Paradise geared to the urban populace, like that of mystery plays.

⁴⁵ Wieck 2012, p. 162, unconvincingly proposes to identify this figure (accompanying "O Mater Dei memento mori" [O Mother of God, remember me]) as Peace.

⁴⁶ Enders 1992, p. 223, vv. 93–101, and p. 226, vv. 890–900.



11.12 Justice, Magnanimity, Court, and Judgment. Pierre Gringore, *Les Abus du monde*, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 42, fol. 33r. Purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) in 1899. Photo The Pierpont Morgan Library.

Court Politics, Justice, and the Power of Force

Justice softened by Mercy was but one of the many options for representing the way justice and power interacted, of course. Today, as in the first decades of the sixteenth century, when power in its most radical form of war bears down on the scales of Justice, it is force that dictates what is proclaimed just. In the spring of 1509, Pierre Gringore published *L'Union des Princes...*, therein urging Louis XII's League of Cambrai allies to defeat the Venetians in a just war: "Regner feront Justice, leur maistresse/ Et par ainsi sur tous domineront" [Justice, their mistress, will rule/ And will thus command over all].⁴⁷ The decisive victory at Agnadello ensued. Subsequently, fol. 33r of New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M 42 (Figure 11.12)—a vellum version of Gringore's *Abus du monde*—displays a judge in front of a magnanimous king (Louis XII), while the text asserts that "sans justice sa magnanimité/ ne regneroit" [without justice his magnanimity would not rule]. The monarch is figured meting out beneficent Justice, depicted as a doubled-up allegory, blindfolded and hands tied to his right, in the guise of a queen-like Lady Court to his left (intentionally conflating the king's spouse and Parlement?). In this Parisian-inflected image, however, Judgment points to the tipping scales of Justice/Lady Court, whose erect sword is being called to service in a just international war. On fol. 44v, in fact, God exhorts Louis, Defender of the Church, to punish the guilty usurper, Venice (actually depicted on fol. 47r), in the spirit of *L'Union des princes*.⁴⁸

Perhaps around the same time, within the same courtly milieu, François Demoulins addressed a moral treatise on the virtues, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12247, to Louise of Savoy and her son, the future mate of Louis XII's daughter Claude, who would consolidate Francis's position as king.⁴⁹ To prepare Louise and her progeny to "saagement gouverner la chose publique" [wisely govern public affairs] (fol. 16v), the oft-reproduced image of Prudence on fol. 4r (Figure 11.13), henceforth attributed to Guillaume II Leroy—buttressed in the text by Reason, Intelligence, Circumspection, Divine Providence, Docility, and Caution—is the first of the Cardinal Virtues explicitly choreographed for male and female rulers alike: "toutes ces vertus sont principalement pour les personnes politiques: comme sont princes et princesses" [all these virtues are mainly for political figures, such as princes and princesses] (fol. 16v). Although on fol. 9r Magnanimity resurfaces as the "premiere fille de Force" [first daughter of Force], only

⁴⁷ Text cited from C. Brown 2003, p. 163, vv. 23–4. See Contamine 1979 on the late medieval concept of the "just war" and its (contested) relation to divine judgment.

⁴⁸ See Scheller 1999, pp. 199–200, who, unlike Hochner 2006, pp. 182–3, identifies the League as Gringore's "real subject." For these additional images, see <http://corsair.themorgan.org>.

⁴⁹ *Traité des vertus, de leur excellence, et comment on les peut acquérir*: available on the BnF's Gallica website. See Lecoq 1987, p. 85, and n. 45, for a hypothetical dating around 1509, and pp. 85–101, for a discussion of the impact of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* on these illuminations. See also Lepape 2010, p. 288, no. 144.



11.13 Louise of Savoy as the Virtue Prudence. François Demoulins, *Traité sur les Vertus*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12247, fol. 4. Photo BnF.



later, on fol. 15r, does Justice appear towering over an allegory of Venice, reduced to kneeling in humble religious penance (Figure 11.14).⁵⁰ Dissimilar to Justice's three full-page sister virtues, this small image shares the page with a text characterizing Justice as both peaceful control over one's justly acquired possessions ("Justice est une vertus par laquelle le juste demeure paisible de la juste possession"), and the rendering to each individual of that which is rightfully his ("L'office de justice est faire rendre à ung chacun ce qui luy appartient") (fol. 15r). As such, Justice emerges as a pawn in a power game which can be won if prudently led—by Louise/Prudence (see Figure 11.13), who places her right hand on the compass serving to guide her son, the dauphin, while resting the thumb of her left hand on the tip of the sword of Justice as her cord of Savoy wraps itself around the allegorical scales, the whole framed by daisies ("marguerites") alluding to her daughter Margaret of Angoulême and with a divine stag looking on. References to Louise's progeny recur on folios 8v (Fortitude) and 12r (Temperance). The just victory of France over Venice would seem to imply the yet-to-be confirmed "just" Orléans-Angoulême claim to the throne. Figures 11.12 and 11.14 target divergent interests at court, yet both are founded on the premise that the winners of political battles have God on their side. How would justice and power play themselves out, then, once Claude and Francis acceded to the throne?

11.14 Justice condemning the defeated Republic of Venice to honorable amend. François Demoullins, *Traité sur les Vertus*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12247, fol. 15r. Photo BnF.

⁵⁰ Scheller 1999, p. 206.

Buttressing a Merciful and Just Queen Claude

Most historians have doubted that the actual empowerment of Queen Claude ever occurred.⁵¹ There is, however, positive evidence of Claude's ability to carry forth her parents' ethical stance on power and justice, and, especially, of a demand coming from the townspeople that Claude shoulder such a role. One of the best known instances is Pierre Gringore's casting of the queen during her royal entry into Paris in May 1517.⁵² By this date Gringore, like the Parisian population at large, had had a chance to assess the still relatively new group of royal protagonists; and the *facteur's* [author's] message at the first scaffold, that of the Porte Saint-Denis, was pregnant with political intent. On fol. 37v of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5750 (Figure 11.15), one of several bearing Claude's arms and devises, four "noble and virtuous" duchess/widows are aligned beneath the central figure of the queen. These ladies are identified in Gringore's own Nantes text as "Prudence, Justice, Magnanimité et Continence ... c'est assavoir Madame d'Angoulesme, mere du roy trescrestien, Madame de Bourbon, Madame d'Alençon, et Madame de Vendosme" [Prudence, Justice, Magnanimity, and Continence ... that is to say Madame d'Angoulême, mother of the very Christian king, etc.]. Louise of Savoy would thus figure once again as Prudence, on the queen's far right, with the dowager duchess Madame d'Alençon as Magnanimity, closer to Claude.⁵³ Yet what might Louise have thought of the casting of Justice as "Madame de Bourbon," that is Anne of France, whose powerful Bourbon dynasty she and Francis were actively trying to circumscribe?⁵⁴ Here, Magnanimity and Temperance (not Gringore's Continence) both make a gesture towards Prudence, as if in acknowledgement of Prudence/Louise's crucial political role. Justice/Anne of France holds her scroll as if to be read by Prudence/Louise, as if summoning her to take Justice into account. Cynthia Brown astutely observed that the intended recipient of this royal-collection manuscript is not perfectly clear.⁵⁵ If not Claude herself, as Lecoq suggested, then a Bourbon connection would make sense.⁵⁶

⁵¹ In Michon 2011, a study of the political advisors to Francis I, although Claude is indexed 14 times, entire chapters are dedicated to Louise of Savoy, Margaret of Navarre, Francis's second queen Eleonora of Austria, and his mistress the duchess of Étampes.

⁵² C. Brown 2005a transcribes and annotates three texts describing this entry: Gringore's only known manuscript text, Nantes, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1337 (pp. 157–94); another manuscript version, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5750 (pp. 273–313); and a version published by Jehan Boissier, transcribed from Paris, BnF, Rés. Lb³⁰29 (pp. 315–27). In addition to the introduction in C. Brown 2005a, pp. 74–85, which inventories other versions, see Lecoq 1987, pp. 377–91; and Hochner 2006, pp. 250–278.

⁵³ The text of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5750, while replacing Continence with Temperance, inverts Justice and Prudence but presents the duchess/widows in the same order. Even if switched, Anne and Louise remain the crucial protagonists.

⁵⁴ See Crouzet 2003, pp. 295–9, for the cycle of Bourbon/royal tensions and the factions at play.

⁵⁵ C. Brown 2005a, p. 75, n. 210, suggests it was made for another noble or member of the court.

⁵⁶ Anne of France was not actually present in Paris because she stayed in Moulins near her pregnant daughter, Suzanne. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5750 devotes three lines, right after



11.15 Scaffold at the Porte Saint-Denis. *Le Sacre, couronnement et entrée de Madame Claude Royne de France*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5750, fol. 37v. Photo BnF.

The pivotal character in Figure 11.15 is Queen Claude, depicted hovering above the widows of rank below. Initially, Gringore's description of the six biblical women who frame Claude appears (with the exception of Rebecca/Wisdom) to wrap a virtuous straitjacket around the queen.⁵⁷ Sara is praised as faithful and very loyal to her husband Abraham; Rachel as amiable to her husband Jacob; Esther as chosen to replace an overly proud Vasti; Helbora as full of good doctrine and celestial mores; Lea as fertile wife. Thanks to Gringore's scaffold machine—of the finest mystery play ilk—a cloud opened at the very top to release an apple that descended, opened, and then multiplied until a dove appeared with a crown in its beak, posing it on the queen. If Gringore's conflation of Claude and the Virgin is customary, Hochner has underscored the unusually fearsome intent of his accompanying words: "son humilité la fait redoubter tout ainsi que proesse fait redoubter les princes" [her humility makes her dreaded just as prowess makes princes dreaded] (ll. 194–5). The Holy Spirit is correlated to the destruction and captivity of the people of Israel, and their conflict with Queen Semiramis of Babylon, "treshumble mais de hault et noble cuer" [very humble but of high and noble heart] (ll. 197–8), whose emblem was a dove; and Gringore cites Jerome: "que ilz se gardassent de la fureur de la columbe" [may they beware of the fury of the dove] (ll. 201–2). His recounting of the story of Esther runs along similar lines: "Mais non obstant l'humilité de ladite Hester, trouva moyen de faire pendre son enemy au gibet ou il pretendoit faire pendre Madochee, oncle de ladite Hester" [yet despite the humility of the aforementioned Esther, she managed to have her enemy [Haman] hung at the gallows where he planned to hang Mordechai, uncle of the said Esther] (ll. 205–7). In this image, Esther holds her scroll closest to Claude, in the vicinity of the potentially furious sacred dove. Hochner ties Esther to the theme of Justice, just prior to her subchapter entitled "Advocate du peuple" [advocate of the people]—in which she treats the significance of this role for both Anne and Claude. She also suggested, convincingly, that this entry—Gringore's swansong in France—with "sa vision étonnamment généreuse pour la reine" [its astonishingly generous vision favoring the queen] may have displeased the king.⁵⁸

The theme of power and justice leads the spectator/reader to bypass a number of interesting *tableaux vivants* and head straight to the symbolic site of Parisian justice, the Châtelet.⁵⁹ Unsurprisingly, its scaffold included "quatre des filles de Justice" [four of the daughters of Justice] (ll. 406–7); but instead of the familiar Parliament of Heaven cast, we find Law, Custom, Severity,

mentioning two hearts where [Claude's] mother and father repose, to the tomb of Anne's brother, Charles VIII, "premier mary de la royne sa mere" [first husband of the queen her mother] (C. Brown 2005a, p. 281, ll. 52–6). At the coronation, the constable of Bourbon held the crown over Claude's head on her dexter (ll. 253–5).

⁵⁷ C. Brown 2005a, pp. 162–4. The following citations indicate lines from C. Brown's transcription.

⁵⁸ Hochner 2006, p. 248, with a finely detailed analysis on pp. 269–74.

⁵⁹ C. Brown 2005a, pp. 170–171.

and Mansuetude. The latter two, however, coincide with the mystery play's dichotomy of "mercy versus rigor," which Lecoq sees as the main theme of the last two scaffolds.⁶⁰ The technical penchant of the men of law who conceptualized this ensemble was of no interest whatsoever to the illuminator of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5750, though. On fol. 45r (Figure 11.16), he replaced the daughters-of-justice theme with Gringore's accompanying genealogical tree, presented in the Nantes text as "la genealogie du costé maternel" [genealogy on the maternal side] (l. 420), "pource que la plus part d'iceulx ont tousjours vescu selon la loy, entretenu les bonnes et louables coustumes, pugni les mauvais, exalté les bons et vertueux" [because most of these have always lived according to the law, supported good and praiseworthy customs, punished the bad, exalted the good and virtuous] (ll. 421–3). The illuminator promotes the same conclusion in a different way. His depiction positions Francis I where one expects the reigning monarch to appear: on his spouse's dexter. Gringore offers little help in deciphering the identity of the remaining figures, but the most plausible interpretation sees this as the Tree of Brittany, arguably staged to strengthen Queen Claude's role as sovereign duchess of Brittany in her own right.⁶¹ The most crucial message is crystal clear. Of the figures depicted, only five are French rulers bearing the hand of justice: Queen Claude, like her husband, but because the power to render justice was transmitted to her directly via (below her) her father Louis XII and her mother Anne of Brittany — whose first monarchical spouse, Charles VIII, appears less necessarily, also wielding a hand of Justice. Since the figures directly beneath Francis (and all the others) carry only a scepter and sport fleurs-de-lis neither on their robes nor on their crowns, the implication is that the authority of justice passed from the royal queen to her husband the king (whose branch springs from slightly below hers). Does the inclusion of an empowered Charles VIII mark a political stand in favor of a counterbalancing "natural alliance" with the feudal Bourbon dynasty, represented by the (parading) constable of Bourbon and (absent) Anne, she too a daughter of France?

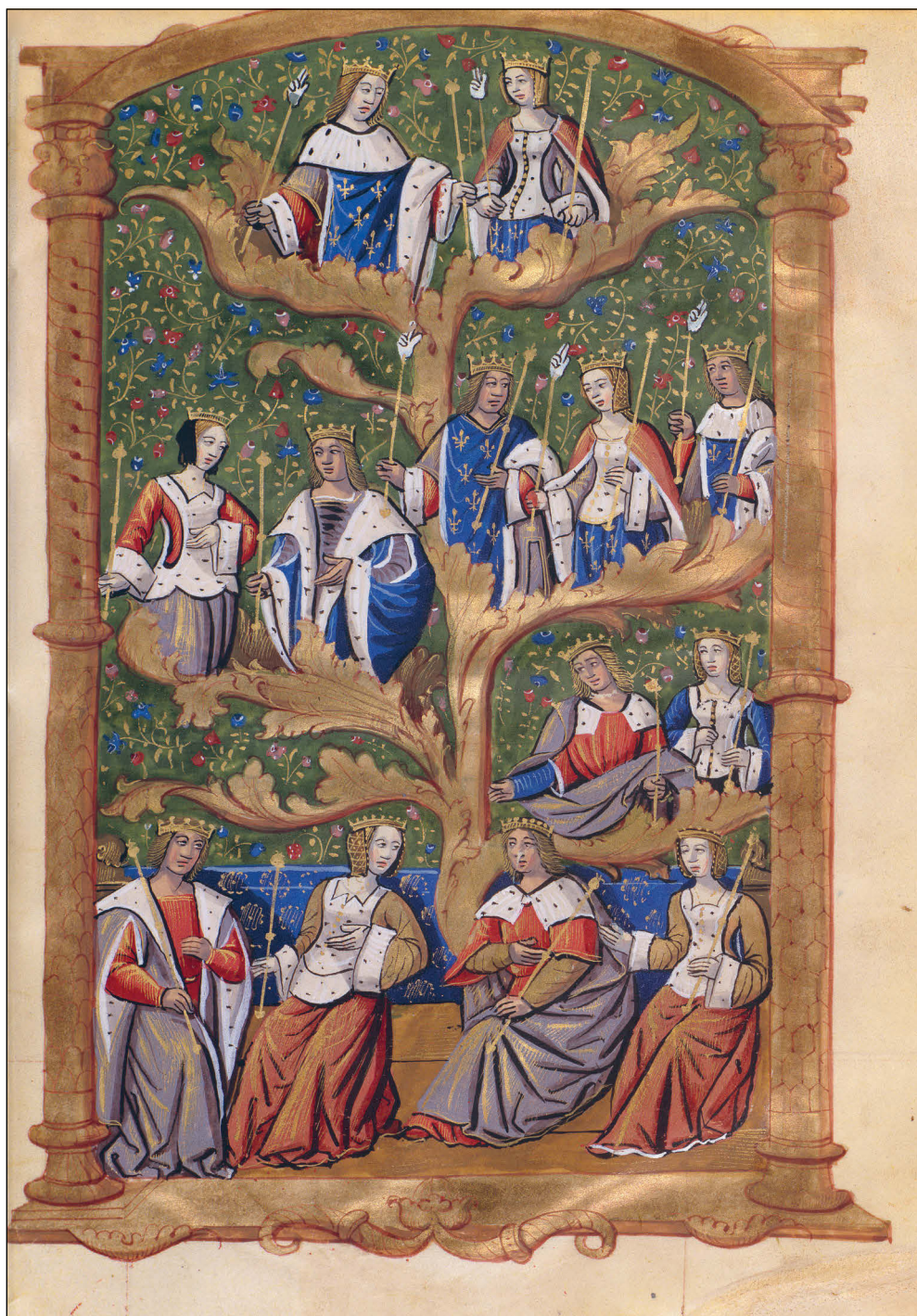
In any case, on the final scaffold located at the Palais Royal,⁶² Louis IX/Francis, Blanche of Castile/Louise of Savoy ("Blanca mater regis ad regem" [Blanca, mother of the king, beside the king]⁶³), and Justice (Claude of France?) entered into a Latin dialogue, particularly geared to (familiar) men of the Church and men of law (Figure 11.17). The spirit of the exchange recalls the Parisian *Passion cyclique* woodcut (compare Figure 11.7): Blanche notifies her son that Wisdom and (Divine) Providence are crucial to maintaining a realm at peace (ll. 435–43), and her son dutifully confirms his preference for Wisdom

⁶⁰ Lecoq 1987, p. 387.

⁶¹ See C. Brown 2005a, pp. 55–6, 83–4, 191–2, who cites Gordon Kipling's analysis of this, instead, as a reflection of the king's desire to incorporate Brittany into his realm (an improbable interpretation, to my mind, given Gringore's stance).

⁶² C. Brown 2005a, pp. 171–4.

⁶³ I thank Julia Wildberger, Marc Bizer, Valery Rees, Louis Waldman, and Kathryn Evans for their help with this translation of a text deemed intentionally elliptical.



11.16 Scaffold at the Châtelet. *Le Sacre, couronnement et entrée de Madame Claude Royne de France*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5750, fol. 45r. Photo BnF.



11.17 Scaffold at the Palais Royal. *Le Sacre, couronnement et entrée de Madame Claude Royne de France*. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5750, fol. 49v. Photo BnF.

above and beyond palaces and realms (ll. 444–9). In the illumination, the scroll identifying Blanche/Louise with “Sapience” [Wisdom] is oddly lacking, as Louis IX/Francis extends his prominent hand of Justice towards his mother and foremost political advisor. Justice, slightly larger and clearly identified, then intervenes to proclaim that the throne of a just king will be perpetually confirmed (implying that a dauphin will be born) if the king truthfully and equitably defends the causes of the poor, and pays no heed to bad and unjust servants and administrators (ll. 450–460)—a number of whom populated a mystery play’s Hell.

In Gringore’s manuscript text (ll. 465–93), a poor man, a beggar, and a criminal beg the king for mercy and pardon. This illumination from Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5750, instead, replaces Gringore’s beggar and criminal with a laborer of higher rank and an “aventurier” [soldier of fortune] who, like the beggar, petitions the king.⁶⁴ The latter’s alignment with Claude’s coat-of-arms below and Justice above, her scales tipping, seems to imply a perception of the queen as advocate for indigent men of arms, at a moment when Charles of Bourbon was negotiating with Francis I over his forced financing of royal troops.⁶⁵ Gringore’s *expositeur* [commentator] ended by portraying Saint Louis as a distributor of alms and virtuous justice (vv. 50–51); by noting that his mother would rather see her dear son dead than harbor a single sin in his heart (vv. 53–4); but he then addressed his final words directly to the queen as mediator for her people: “Il est en toy ton peuple secourir,/ Priant le roy qu’il le veuille nourrir/ En bonne paix et garder de souffrance” [It is in you to bring succor to your people, begging the king to nourish it with good peace and keep suffering at bay] (vv. 55–8). For Hochner, this declaration again betrays the “interprétation très généreuse du rôle de la reine comme soutien du royaume” [very generous interpretation of the role of the queen as support for the realm], a role clearly not “subalterne” [subaltern].⁶⁶

Jean Bouchet, another urban man of law, was an active author/adaptor of mystery plays like Gringore, commenting on lay society from bottom to top. Jennifer Britnell argues that Bouchet remained dedicated to the kingly ideal of Louis XII throughout his long life (he lived into the reign of Claude’s son, Henry II).⁶⁷ In the year after Claude’s entry into Paris, he dedicated to the queen *L’histoire et cronicque de Clotaire ... et de sa tresillustre espouse madame sainte Radegonde*⁶⁸—one of his many historical writings intended “par

⁶⁴ In accordance with the text of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5750 (C. Brown 2005a, p. 307, ll. 678–80), and the aforementioned published version by Boissier (C. Brown 2005a, pp. 324, ll. 215–17); see also Lecoq 1987, p. 390.

⁶⁵ This was one of the bones of contention between Bourbon and the king from 1516 on. See Hamon 1994, p. 399; and Crouzet 2003, pp. 295–7.

⁶⁶ Hochner 2006, p. 278.

⁶⁷ Regarding his *Épîtres morales*, only published in 1545, Britnell 1986, p. 7, suggests that its praise of Louis XII was a form of criticism of Francis I.

⁶⁸ Bouchet 1518; available on the BnF’s Gallica website. His dedication to Claude on p. aa (the verso would read aa.i...), empowers her as “treshaulte tresnoble, et sacree princesse madame Claude fille de roy” [very high, very noble, and sacred princess Madame Claude,

augmentation et accroissement de vertuz servir la chose publicque" [by augmentation and growth of virtue to serve the common good].⁶⁹ The true subject of the book was Saint Radegonde, a sixth-century queen of the Frankish realm whose cult was centered in Poitiers, his hometown; and references to her instruction in French, Latin, and the Seven Liberal Arts introduce a series of reflections on the education of contemporaneous princesses through moral and ancient texts. Like Gringore at the Porte Saint-Denis, Bouchet begins with cautious wording: women, for instance, should neither study theology nor enter into theological discussions. Yet the woodcut dedicated to Clotaire and Radegonde (Figure 11.18) sets the saintly queen on the king's favorable right. His recounting of Radegonde's vehement criticism of Clotaire's hateful and unjust assassination of her beloved brother proposes a concrete model of a genuinely strong queen who did not hesitate to find fault with her husband's sovereign Justice, which she had once believed to be "as true as the Bible."⁷⁰ While in this woodcut the king is shown wielding the sword of Justice, it is the queen who bears the scepter, as if to keep the king and his sword in line.

Heretofore, the evidence that I have assembled to reconstruct Claude of France's ethical stance on power and justice comes from public performances and books, in which men like Gringore and Bouchet were pressing the queen to assume the role of advocate for her people that her parents had carefully groomed her to fulfill. Could she have been an effective Esther for her people, an outspoken Radegonde, towards the end of her short reign, despite the fact that the Valois-Angoulême "royal trinity" had managed to consolidate their power at her expense?

Conclusion

By the time of Claude's royal entry into Paris in 1517, allusions to the mounting conflict between the Valois-Angoulême and the Bourbon dynasty seem to have seeped into Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5750. Five years later, in the spring



11.18 Saint Radegonde and Clotaire. Jean Bouchet, *L'histoire et cronique de Clotaire... et de sa tresillustre espouse madame sainte Radegonde...* (Poitiers: Enguilbert de Marnef, 1518), Paris, BnF, Rés. D 67949 (1). Photo BnF.

king's daughter]. On this text (originally requested by Charles VIII) and its sixth-century protagonists, see Britnell 1986, pp. 113–36, 196–205.

⁶⁹ This text from the 1517 *Temple de Bonne Renommée* is cited by Britnell 1986, p. 71.

⁷⁰ See Bouchet 1518, fols. XXVv–XXXVIr.

of 1523, the major trial brought against the constable of Bourbon by Francis I and his mother Louise was being pleaded in the royal court of Parlement, which is featured in Figure 11.10. On March 23, the constable made his final appearance at the French court. An ambassadorial letter addressed to Cardinal Wolsey informs us that the king and the queen were dining separately when the king learned that the constable was in the Louvre. Francis I sought out his officer and unloaded a series of recriminations regarding his contacts with Emperor Charles V. The tone mounted between the two male rivals, and the constable accused the king of threatening him, undeservedly, before returning to his townhouse near the Louvre, a host of French gentlemen by his side. But where exactly had the king gone to find Bourbon? To the chamber of his wife, the queen.⁷¹ Claude would thus appear to be the very last person that the constable of Bourbon approached at the French court prior to his tortured decision to enter into a pact with the imperial enemy. It seems reasonable to surmise that from his position in limbo he turned to the queen as his last just and merciful resort. If so, this was one of the many political battles that Claude lost. In this major conflict, though, not even the formidable Anne of France had been able to hold her own. The following year, a few months before Claude's death, the imperial ambassador Louis de Praet informed Charles V that a spy had attested to Francis's unpopularity with the people, who blamed the terrible failure of their crops on the (profligate) king's sins and evil life.⁷² These circumstances help explain why Claude's advocacy was truly dreaded, and neutralized, by Francis I and his key counselor Louise until the very day the queen departed this earth. Even in the minds of what we tend to perceive as a disenfranchised population, power and justice did not necessarily go hand in hand.

⁷¹ La Mure 1868, p. 585 n.

⁷² For the letter from Louis de Praet to Charles V, dated April 15, 1524, see Mattingly 1947, p. 331. See also Crouzet 2003, pp. 509–18, for the rhetorical battle over divine punishment (of whom?) and Francis's defeat at Pavia less than a year after Claude's death.

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